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FERISHTA'S
HISTORY OF DEKKAN,

FROM

THE FIRST MAHUMMEDAN CONQUESTS :

WITH

**A CONTINUATION FROM OTHER NATIVE WRITERS, OF THE EVENTS IN
THAT PART OF INDIA, TO THE REDUCTION OF ITS LAST
MONARCHS BY THE EMPEROR AULUMGEER AURUNGZEBE :**

ALSO,

**THE REIGNS OF HIS SUCCESSORS IN THE EMPIRE OF HINDOSTAN
TO THE PRESENT DAY :**

AND

THE HISTORY OF BENGAL,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALIVERDEE KHAN TO THE YEAR 1789.

COMPRISED IN SIX PARTS.

BY JONATHAN SCOTT,

**CAPTAIN IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE, PERSIAN SECRETARY
TO THE LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL, WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ. AND
MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY IN CALCUTTA.**

VOL. II.

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1794.

THE HISTORY OF DEKKAN

THE FIRST MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST

A CONTINUATION FROM OTHER NARRATIVE WRITERS OF THE HISTORY OF
THE FIRST MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST

THE HISTORY OF THE MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST IN THE FIRST MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST

THE HISTORY OF THE MAHOMMEDAN CONQUEST



BY JONATHAN BURNETT

PRINTED IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PRESS, AT THE
INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

1817

TO
WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

SIR,

PERMIT me to dedicate this Translation to you, who so amply patronized my attempts to make myself useful to my honourable employers, when in India. The distinction you were pleased to confer upon me, by an appointment in your family, and the favour of your friendship, I shall ever regard as honours of which I may reasonably boast: and I trust a time will come, when far more important pages than mine will acquire merit with the nation, from being adorned with the name of HASTINGS.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient

And grateful humble servant,

LONDON,
12th May, 1786.

JONATHAN SCOTT.

[III]
T O
WARREN HASTINGS ESQ.

SIR,

P

ERRATA.

PERMIT me to dedicate this Translation to you, who so amply patronized my attempts to make myself useful to my country.

Page 29, line 20, for *messuage*, read *message*.
30, line 24, for *Rauje poet*, read *Raujpoot*.
51, line 2, in the notes, for *mizid*, read *muzjid*.
52, line 10, for *Bahadar*, read *Bahadur*.
54, line 2, for *Soubadacy*, read *Soubadary*.
83, in the notes, for *Yemmun*, read *Yemmun*.
89, line 8, and 22, for *Downan*, and *Dowran*, read *Dowraun*.

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I am, SIR,

Your most obedient

And grateful humble servant,

JONATHAN SCOTT.

London,
14th May, 1786.

P R E F A C E.

THUS sayeth the compiler of these records and events, an humble and sinful slave, 'Moobaric Oollah · Eradut Khan 'Wazeh, son of the 'sheltered in mercy, 'Keffaiut Khan, writer of the 'Shekest: When I had finished the 'Kulmàut Alecaut, it entered my mind to draw up a concise relation of what events had happened to myself, while I was composing that work.

- ¹ Anglicè, Blessed of God.
- ² The author's title of nobility, signifying The Faithful Lord.
- ³ His poetical name, by which he chose to signify himself in his poems; Anglicè, Clear. Eastern authors always use one.
- ⁴ The Mussulmauns, when mentioning a deceased person, never say such a one who is dead, but such a one sheltered in mercy, received in pardon, or some similar expression. When mentioning a deceased prince, they say the prince whose seat is in Paradise.
- ⁵ Anglicè, The serviceable.
- ⁶ The broken hand, generally used in business.
- ⁷ Anglicè, Sublime Discourses. This work I never could obtain, though I made strict enquiry after it.

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

I have observed, that delightful scenes, and the society of friends, are not so striking at the time of enjoyment, as afterwards, when reflected in the mirror of recollection. On this account, I write down most passing occurrences; and whenever I peruse them, or ruminate upon them, a particular feeling, a surprising pleasure and astonishing extasy, prevail in my mind. My writings also serve as a memorial to my friends.

During the short period of my age, which has this day arrived at the sixty-fourth year, and the 1126th of the holy A.C. 1715. Hijhera, such wonders of time, such astonishing marks of the power of the Creator of night and day in the vicissitudes of worldly affairs, the destruction of empires, the deaths of many princes, the ruin of ancient houses and noble families, the fall of worthy men, and rise of the unworthy, have been beheld by me, as have not been mentioned by history to have occurred, in such number or succession, in a thousand years.

As, on account of my office, and being engaged in these transactions, I have obtained a perfect knowledge of the sources of most events, and what, to others, even information of must be difficult, was planned and executed in my sight; and as I was a sharer, as well as spectator,

ORIGINAL PREFACE.

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of all the dangers and troubles, I have therefore recorded them.

My intention, however, not being to compile a history of kings, or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened within my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend, writing to a friend, would use for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is consulted, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth, which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation. I hope, therefore, that my readers will not loosen the reins of impartiality from their hands, nor call my modesty, ignorance.

TO

MEMOIRS

TO THE
 READER.

IT will be necessary to remember, that Aurungzebe is the same person with Aulumgeer. He took the latter title on his accession to the throne, agreeable to the custom of the eastern princes, who always assume a new one on that occasion.

It is hoped that the number of notes will not prove tedious, nor perplex the reader's attention. Some, perhaps, may appear trivial to those whose local knowledge renders such assistance, to them, unnecessary; but, as their number is comparatively very small with those who require it, the translator requests the indulgence of the few, in compliment to the many.

P R E F A C E.

MR. ORME, with whose elegant works relative to India the publick are well acquainted, has, in his Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, inserted the following note:

“ We are not without hopes, that some of the many in
“ India, who have the means, will supply the portions of in-
“ formation which are deficient, and must, otherwise, always
“ continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth
“ the enquiry; for, besides the energy of the characters which
“ arise within this period, there are no states or powers on
“ the continent of India, with whom our nation have any
“ connection or concern, who do not owe the origin of their
“ present condition to the reign of AURUNGZEBE, or to its
“ influence on the reigns of his successors.”

The perusal of Mr. ORME's works, when in India, first excited my curiosity to obtain that information, the want of which he regrets; and for this purpose I procured every manuscript likely to afford any anecdotes of AURUNGZEBE and his successors. Of the Transactions of his reign, especially his Oper-

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ations in Dekkan, by far the most important, (unless we except his wars with his brothers, and the deposal of his father, which have been published by colonel Dow, in his third volume of the History of Hindoostan,) I have not met with a better account than the following. It is a free translation of a Journal kept by a Bondela officer, who attended Dulput Roy, the chief of his tribe, in all AURUNGZEBE's campaigns, which was presented to me by the Raja of Dutteah, a great grandson of Dulput Roy, when I acted as Persian interpreter to a detachment under colonel POPHAM, in the Ghoeed country.

* A principality, according to the imperial division of the empire, forming part of the Agra province. This raja is now tributary to the Mharattas, as well as all the other Bondela chiefs, whose country is denominated, in our maps, Bundelcund.

AURUNGZEBE'S

OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.

HAVING in the preceding volume, as far as authorities could be obtained, brought the history of Dekkan to the decline of her two last monarchies of Golconda and Beejapore, in which the gradual encroachments of the Mogul or Dhely emperors are mentioned as far down as the close of the reign of Shaw Jehaun, we come next to the operations of Aurungzebe, his son. He caused their final dissolution; but, by adding to the extent of his dominions in Dekkan, destroyed a balance of power, the want of which enabled the states, who rose on the ruins of his conquests, in less than a century to be the chief agents in rendering the empire of Hindoostan, to the family of Timur, a mere nominal sovereignty. It will be recollected, that Aurungzebe was governor of Dekkan, on the part of his father Shaw Jehaun; and that at the close of the last volume he had just imposed severe conditions on the sultan of Golconda, when he was drawn from his operations, by the alarming state of affairs at the court of his father.

At this period a new power, the celebrated Sewajee, founder of the Mharatta states, was rising into notice; an account of whom begins the following pages.

OF the origin of Sewajee, the founder of the present Mharatta state in Dekkan, we have the following account. Bheem Sing, or Sein, rana of Odipore, the first in rank among the Hindoo princes, had a son named Baug Sing, by a ^a concubine of a tribe very inferior to his own. On the death of his father, Baug Sing finding himself despised and neglected by his relations, the Sefodia Raajepootes, who, from the low cast of his mother, regarded him only as a bastard, and not of their tribe, became weary of the indignities shewn him; and moved from Odipore to Khandeshe, where he embraced the service of a zemindar, named Raja Ali Mohun. His abilities procured him the confidence of his patron to such a degree, that at his death he appointed him guardian to his son; and Baug Sing executed the trust with honour. When the young raja became of age to take upon himself the conduct of his affairs, Baug Sing, for what reason does not appear, declined his service, and retired into Dekkan, where he purchased a tract of land near the present Mharatta capital of Poonah, and settled upon it as zemindar, in which situation he died.

Baug Sing had four sons, two of whom, Malojee and Bumbojee, being of an enterprising spirit, entered into the service of Jadoo Roy, a Mharatta chief, and of distinguished rank at the court of Bahadur Nizam Shaw.

Malojee had two sons, Sahjee, or Shawjee, and Shurfajee. ^b Bumbojee had six sons, who entered, as soldiers of fortune, into the service of a zemindar of Beejapore.

Malojee

^a Said to be a carpenter's daughter. This is overlooked by the Bhoselah family, who in their own annals are styled only a younger branch of Odipore. Baug Sing was called in Dekkan, Bhoselah, of which term are given two interpretations. One is complimentary, as signifying the terror of his enemies; the other opprobrious, of his mother's low condition.

^b From him the present raja of Nagpore Berar is descended, and the head of the Bhoselah family at present, if the elder branch is extinct, as reported,

Malojee gradually acquired rank and influence with his patron, from whom he obtained a promise of his only daughter in marriage for his eldest son Sahjee; but Jadoo Roy afterwards, from some disgust, refusing to fulfil his engagement, Malojee appealed for redress to Nizam Shaw, who obliged the chief to consent to the nuptials, which were celebrated with great pomp: and thus the Bhoselahi family became incorporated with the Mharattas, and commonly esteemed as such in Hindoostan.

A connection thus introduced upon him by force, could not be pleasing to Jadoo Roy, who from the moment of its consummation accordingly became jealous of his son in law; and on the death of his father Malojee, Sahjee, by his abilities having acquired the favour of the queen mother, regent to her son a minor, was regarded only as a dangerous rival by his wife's father. An open rupture ensued, and Jadoo Roy, by the assistance of the imperial troops then meditating conquests in Dekkan, obliged Sahjee to quit the kingdom, though at the expense of its welfare, by introducing the enemy of his sovereign.

Sahjee with his followers, thus driven from Ahmednuggur, now entered into the service of Ibrahim Adil Shaw, king of Beejapore, who gave him a jaghire in the Carnatic, with a command of ten thousand horse. Soon after this, his son Sewajee, afterwards so celebrated in Dekkan, was born, from the daughter of Jadoo Roy Mharatta; by whom Sahjee had already one son, named Sambojee, who was in early youth killed in action against a refractory zemindar of Beejapore.

Sahjee having disagreed with his wife, on account of his hatred to her father, resolved on separation; and, accordingly, sent her, with the infant Sewajee, to whom he shewed no affection, to reside at Poonah, of which, and the vicinity, he had obtained a grant, under

under the charge of one of his officers, named Dadajee Punt, to whom he also committed the management of the zemindaree.

Sahjee now married a second wife, also a Mharatta, by whom he had a son named Angojee, or Ekojee, to whom he transferred all his fondness from his former connection. Continuing to rise in honours and consequence, under the patronage of Morar Jugdeo, dewan to the sultan, he became one of the principal chiefs of Beejapore; and though on the death of the king his patron was put to death by the queen regent, Sahjee suffered no injury in his fortunes.

Junjappa Naik, poligar of Mudkul, being at enmity with Panchee Ragoo, zemindar of Tanjore, invited Sahjee to his assistance; and in conjunction they defeated the raja, who was slain in the action, and possessed themselves of the capital and all his dominions. The allies quarrelling on the division of the plunder and the sum to be paid to Sahjee for his services, he attacked Junjappa, slew him in battle, and thus obtained an easy conquest of the zemindaries of Tanjore and Mudkul, in which he obtained confirmation from the regency of Beejapore, and settled them on his son Ekojee, whose posterity still hold them under the navob of Arcot, or rather, the British government.

Sewajee, though neglected by his father, was properly educated by his guardian Dadajee; and at the age of seventeen excelled in every accomplishment. Military fame was his first passion; and the government of Beejapore being now weakened by intestine divisions and the encroachments of the Moguls, he had soon an opportunity of signalizing himself among other rebels. Contrary to the remonstrances of Dadajee, he raised a banditti, and plundered the neighbouring districts; which conduct in his charge so affected the old man, that he poisoned himself from vexation, and to avoid the imputation of assisting in his designs. Sewajee now took possession of the

the jaghire, raised more troops, successfully levied contributions on several zemindars, and much extended the limits of his territories. Sahjee, either from inability, or contented with his rich zemindaree of Tanjore, connived at his excesses, and made over to him the revenues of Poonah.

At this crisis Aurungzebe, governor of the imperial territories in Dekkan, was meditating the overthrow of his brother Dara Shekkoh, who was the favourite of their father, the emperor Shaw Jehaun, now in a dangerous state of health. For this purpose he was preparing an army to march to Agra; and, observing the enterprising genius of Sewajee, sent him an invitation to his service. Sewajee pretending to be struck with horror, (for his own conduct proves its hypocrisy) at the rebellion of a son against a father, received the prince's messenger with indignity, drove him from his presence, and ordered the letter he had brought to be tied to the tail of a dog. Aurungzebe for the present stifled his resentment, but never could forgive Sewajee's insolence; and hence may be dated his tedious war in Dekkan, and finally the ruin of the Mogul empire by the Mharattas.

Aurungzebe, on his moving from Dekkan, committed the government of it to his second son, sultan Mahummud Mauzim, under the tutelage of an experienced general, with orders to act only on the defensive till he should have decided his pretensions to the imperial throne.

A. H. 1066.
A. D. 1655.

Aurungzebe having left Dekkan, Sewajee resolved to turn the inactivity of the imperial troops, and the weakness of the Golconda and Beejapore princes, to the utmost advantage. He took the strong fortress of Rairee, or Rajeghur, which he fixed upon as the seat of his government; and successively captured Porundeh, Jagneh, and other places, with considerable districts dependant on Beejapore.

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The regency of Beejapore, being alarmed at his encroachments, sent him threats mingled with offers of pardon; but he regarded neither, and continued his rebellion. Having by treachery put to death the zemindar of Jaowlee, he possessed himself of an immense treasure and that district. He next plundered the rich manufacturing city of Kalleen; took Madury and Purdhaunghur; at which last he found a valuable buried treasure. Rajapore near Bombay, Sungarpore, and an island belonging to the Portuguese, next fell into his hands.

The Beejapore government having in vain desired Sahjee, (who disclaimed all connection with him, and pretended that he had discarded him as a relation,) to repress the excesses of his son, at length sent against him a considerable army, under a general named Abdoolla Khan.

Sewajee with artful policy now wrote to the general, imploring pardon for his crimes, and inviting him to come and receive his submission. Abdoolla advanced without opposition near the residence of the rebel, and it was agreed that he should repair to a tent, with ten followers, where Sewajee would meet him with only five attendants. They met accordingly, when the treacherous zemindar stabbed Abdoolla in embracing him. Upon a signal given, the Mharattas, rushing from an ambuscade, attacked the unsuspecting army of Beejapore, which, deprived of their chief, was quickly defeated. Sewajee plundered their rich camp, and by this victory became master of all Kokun, the zemindars of which flocked to acknowledge his authority, to save their possessions. The strong fortrefs of Sittarra and other places also opened their gates to receive him.

A new army was sent from Beejapore under Afzul Khan, son of the murdered general, but without success; Sewajee, even without hazarding an engagement, obliging them to retreat by cutting off their supplies: and after this the Beejapore government, divided internally

internally, and apprehending attacks from the armies of Aurungzebe, who had now obtained possession of the throne, made no effort against him. In the course only of three years, Sewajee became a powerful prince, his authority being acknowledged over almost the whole coast of Malabar.

To relate here the struggles for the throne between Aurungzebe and his unfortunate brothers, Dara Shekkoh, sultan Shujah, and Moraud Buksh; with the deposal of their father, the emperor Shaw Jehaun, would interrupt too much the object of this work, the HISTORY OF DEKKAN. Of these events, by such as wish to peruse them, * an excellent account may be seen in the Travels of Bernier, published in Lord Oxford's Collection of Voyages. It agrees with the native histories of Hindoostan in every fact, and abounds with just observations of his own. Bernier resided with Danushmund Khan, a nobleman of high rank and office, in the service of Aurungzebe, during the events he relates. Suffice it to say here, that Aurungzebe ascended the throne by the title of Aulumgeer, in the year 1068 of the Mahummedan æra. From this period, the memorable events of his whole reign are noticed, but the affairs of Dekkan more particularly detailed in the following work.

A. D. 1657.

Of the proceedings of the imperialists in Dekkan, during these events, no notice is taken in the history of Aulumgeer. It is probable, they acted merely on the defensive. Sultan Mahummud Mauzim was this year recalled by his father, and the ameer al amra, Shaisteh Khan, appointed soubahdar of Dekkan, with orders to stop the progress of Sewajee.

A. H. 1069.

A. D. 1658.

The ameer al amra, after some stay at Aurungabad, marched to reduce Jagneh, a strong fortress in possession of Sewajee; which he took, and proceeded to Poonah, where he fixed his residence; while

A. H. 1070.

A. D. 1659.

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* There is one also in the third volume of Dow's history of Hindoostan, nearly the same as Bernier's.

his troops under Naumdaur Khan laid waste the country of the rebel, who, though unequal to cope with the imperialists in the field, harassed them frequently by night attacks and cutting off their supplies; so that their conquest of several forts was but of little use to the progress of their arms.

A. H. 1072. Sewajee still continued to resist in Dekkan, and this year signal-
A. D. 1661. ized himself by a remarkable exploit at Poonah, where the ameer al amra yet resided. Having by his spies learned that the navob and his troops were lulled into careless security, he one night, with a select band of tried followers, after a forced march of forty miles, entered the city, and passing without alarm to the palace, mined his passage into the women's apartments, with fifteen of his companions. The ameer al amra, awakened by the noise, started up, and received two wounds as he ran to call for help into an outer room; but his son Abou Futteh was slain, and some female servants with him, before he could procure assistance. At length, the guards arriving, Sewajee made his escape by the way he had entered, without losing a man. The ameer al amra attributing this surprize to the connivance of Jeffwunt Sing, his second in command, was fearful of remaining longer at Poonah, and retired to Aurungabad; from whence he was recalled soon after to court, and the prince Mahummud Mauzim again sent to the government of Dekkan, which he held for two years. During these, no memorable event occurs in history, and at the end of this period the prince was ordered to court.

A. H. 1075. Mirza Raja Jeyfing, who was sent governor of Dekkan on the
A. D. 1664. recall of the prince Mahummud Mauzim, immediately began operations against Sewajee, who had extended his usurpations over great part of the Beejapore territories on the coast of Malabar, and carried his predatory incursions as far as Surat, which he plundered of immense wealth, it being then the richest seaport of the empire.

Mirza

Mirza Raja, with his second in command, Dilleer Khan, after having successfully repulsed the armies of Sewajee, and laid waste his country, sat down before Poonadher, a strong fortress, which the Mharatta, regarding as impregnable, had chosen for the asylum of the women and treasures of himself and all his principal followers. The imperialists, by a resolute assault, having made themselves masters of a redoubt, situated on an eminence which commanded the fort, Sewajee was reduced to the last extremity. In this exigence, he took the resolution of throwing himself on the mercy of his enemy. To the surprize of the besiegers, he, with a few attendants unarmed, appeared suddenly at one of the outposts, and demanded to be conducted to the general. The Mirza Raja sent his own son, Keerut Sing, to accompany him to his presence, with all the customary honours due to his rank. The whole camp pressed in crowds to see this celebrated hero, and the Mirza Raja having come as far as the door of his tent to meet him, after embracing, enquired the occasion of his thus putting himself into his power.

Sewajee replied, that war was attended with the ruin of thousands, and crimes thus accumulated on both parties; that he was at length sensible how heinous it was in him, the meanest of slaves, to rebel against the orders of the king of kings, and that he now saw his own interest, and that of his family and country, to be in submission and obedience to the emperor. That, regarding the Mirza Raja as his father, he had thus of his own accord fled to his presence, that he might, through his paternal mediation and intercession, obtain forgiveness and pardon for the crimes he had been guilty of, and procure from his majesty some honourable command, as that against Candahar, or any other equally important; that in case the Maharaja would lay the hand of paternal protection on his head, he would immediately make an offering of twenty four of his forts, with the countries dependant.

The Maharaja, looking on this occurrence as a gift of the divine blessing, instantly exchanged with him the adoption of father and son, ordered the march of victory to be beat, and informing Dilleer Khan of Sewajee's submission, desired him to cease hostilities. The Khan was at first offended that any capitulation had been made without his consultation, and sent for answer, that as musfulmauns had been killed during the siege, and a breach was effected, also a disposition made for the assault, he would not consent to a peace until the fort should be taken. The Mirza Raja the next morning, in order to mollify the Khan's displeasure, sent Sewajee with his son Keerut Sing to visit him; which compliment had the desired effect, and he withdrew his troops from the batteries. Sewajee the same day surrendered Poonadher to the imperial generals, and gave up the keys of twenty four other forts to the Mirza Raja, who appointed kella-daars to each, and sent off a petition in favour of Sewajee to the sublime court.

A. H. 1075.

A. D. 1665.

Orders had before this been issued to the Mirza Raja, that he should immediately upon the reduction of Poonadher possess himself of Beejapore. Sewajee also, after the imperial troops had taken possession of the places he had given up, and the dispatch of his petition to the presence, represented to the raja, that it was useless to remain inactive with such a fine army until the arrival of an answer, that, if he approved, he would join him to besiege Beejapore, the fall of which would be a proof of his good services in the eyes of his majesty. The raja accordingly having, besides the customary imperial donations, distributed from his own treasury a corore of rupees among the amras and troops, began his march with an army of fifty six thousand horse and foot. Syed Elias, from Beejapore, advanced to meet him, with an army of eighty thousand men, and a desperate engagement occurred; in which the Beejapore general being killed by a musquet bullet, by Soopkerrun Bondela, his army was defeated, and the imperial troops pursued the fugitives to

to within five coss of the city: but soon after this a great scarcity of provisions prevailed in the camp, as the enemy had laid waste the country round, and it was impossible to carry supplies for a constancy for so large a force, so that it became daily more difficult to remain or advance.

At this time also, answers arrived from court, and his majesty's orders were issued, that Sewajee should receive a lack of rupees from the treasury of Dekkan, and proceed to the imperial presence. Fattah Jung Khan, who was escorting treasure from Aurungabad to the Mirza Raja's camp, was attacked by a large body of the enemy between Porundeh and Sholapore. He made a gallant defence, but was slain in the action, and the treasure and baggage fell into the enemy's hands. The Mirza Raja having given assurances of protection to the nobility of Beejapore, many chiefs came over to him, whom he gratified with presents and honours in the emperor's name. Having given Sewajee permission to retire to regulate his country, previous to his going to the presence, and sent with him Kallean Sing, a commander of five hundred, the Mirza Raja retreated from Nagpana, and cantoned for the rainy season at the reservoir of Kikeroolla, twelve coss from Porundeh.

Sewajee having visited his country, began his journey to the imperial court. When he arrived at Aurungabad, he was attended by five hundred noble horse, elegantly caparisoned, and about the same number of select and well accoutred infantry. The whole city came out of curiosity to meet him. Suff Shekun Khan, an ameer of three thousand and deputy governor, regarding Sewajee only in the light of a Mharatta zemindar, sat himself, with the publick officers in full assembly, thinking that he would pay him the first visit, and only sent his nephew to meet him without the city, and conduct him to his palace. But this affronted Sewajee, who turned off directly to the Mirza Raja's palace; and upon being told that
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the governor expected him in full assembly, asked angrily, Who is Suff Shekun Khan? what office does he hold here? and why has he not come out to meet me? Then, having dismissed the nephew and his train, he alighted at the palace. In the evening, Suff Shekun Khan and the publick officers came in state to visit him, and he received them at the foot of the carpets, and entered familiarly into conversation. The next day Sewajee returned the visit. The deputy governor and other officers each entertained him, according to their ability. He stayed at Aurungabad till he had received the bounty ordered from the treasury, and then proceeded on his journey to court, where he arrived in safety.

Sewajee, when introduced to the imperial presence, did not meet with the honours he expected. Being placed among the amras of five thousand, he asked, to what rank the station was assigned? and being told, it was that allotted to the raja Ram Sing Sefodiah, wept, and fainted away. Orders were given to carry him into the court of the bathing apartments, where they fanned and sprinkled him with rose-water. Apparently, he was overcome by the splendour and magnificence of the imperial court; but none were acquainted with his real disorder. When he came to himself he begged to be carried to the place appointed for his residence; where being arrived, he began to talk in a frantic manner, and pretended madness, often crying out, "Now such a criminal as I am have put myself into the talons of the eagle, why does he not quickly put me to death?"

These mad effusions were related to his majesty, who ordered that Ram Sing, son to the Mirza Raja, should take care of him. Shortly after this, agreeably to Sewajee's own request, it was represented to the emperor, that as he now had come to the presence, he desired that his attendants, who were used to Dekkan, and did not chuse to live out of it, might have leave to return to their homes.

His

His majesty regarded this request as highly favourable to keeping him at court without trouble, and permitted all his followers, except his son Sambah and a few of the principal persons, to return to Dekkan.

Before this, Sewajee had made it a custom, every Thursday to distribute among the poor, who crowded in great numbers to his gate on this occasion, great quantities of pastry and sweetmeats, which were brought in large baskets, each of which required three or four men to bear it; and these, when emptied, were carried out again to the confectioner's. Ram Sing had requested that his people might be recalled; and the guards of Folaud Khan, the city cutwal, were then ordered to keep the watch over him. Sewajee by his generosity so gained upon his keepers, that they were contented with seeing him every morning and evening; after the last of which visits, he constantly retired to sleep, on pretence of illness. When every thing was ripe for his intended plan, Sewajee, one Thursday evening, having acquainted his confidants of his design, ordered a slave to take his place on the bed, and leaving the customary attendants in the room, emptied the sweetmeats, and putting his son into one of the baskets, laid himself in another, in which they were carried out of the house. When he had got clear of the city, he mounted his son upon a sorry horse, and led the bridle himself on foot on the Mutterah road. True it is, that "the wise man does that without noise, which a vast army cannot effect." In the morning, the guards not seeing him present himself as was customary, were alarmed, and gave intelligence to Folaud Khan, who entering the bedchamber, awaked the slave who occupied the place of Sewajee. He said, that he had been ordered to lie on his bed, which he had done since evening, but could give no farther account. The cutwal carried the slave and several other persons bound to his majesty; who ordered a strict search to be made, and proclamations to be issued in every district of the empire, describing Sewajee, and ordering him to be seized,

seized, but all in vain. Terbeut Roy, the superintendant of the spies, was disgraced for not having given information of the stratagem; and Ram Sing, who had requested the recall of his people from the guard over Sewajee, was suspected of a connivance, and banished the court. The Mirza Raja was ordered to leave Dekkan, as soon as relieved by the prince Mahummud Mauzim and the Maharaja Jesswunt Sing.

Sewajee having arrived at Mutterah, shaved his beard, mustachios, and long side locks, to disguise himself. Committing his son to the charge of a bramin, who lay under many obligations to him, with a promise of great rewards if he should conduct him in safety to Dekkan. He for the present gave him some jewels and gold mhors for his expenses. He then travelled as a pilgrim from Mutterah, by the route of Aleabad and Benaras to Geiar; from whence, after meeting two officers whom he had sent on before, he travelled, accompanied by them, to Cuttac. Here, being much fatigued, he ventured to buy a sorry horse; but, not having silver ready to pay for it, unguardedly opened a purse of gold. The news of his escape having reached this city, the owner of the horse, who was suspicious at seeing a person in the dress of a beggar with so much money, said, "Surely you must be Sewajee in disguise, as you offer such a sum for a sorry horse." Sewajee made no reply, but gave him the purse, and departed with all possible speed to Jaggernaut; from whence, after performing the customary worship, he travelled through Hyderabad to his own country. The bramin of Mutterah, putting a girl's dress on Sewajee's son, then a boy with long fine hair, and taking his wife in company, called him his daughter, and brought him in safety into Dekkan to his father; who rewarded him so generously, that he was ever after independant of the world.

The Mirza Raja having sent Dilleer Khan to collect the tributes of the zemindars of Chandna and Deogur, retired to pass the rains
at

at Aurungabad, until the arrival of the prince to relieve him in the government; and about this time the emperor disapproved of several promotions he had made of the Dekkan amras, who had come over to the imperial service by his invitation from Beejapore, the escape of Sewajee having rendered his loyalty suspected by Aurungzebe.

The prince Mahummud Mauzim and Maharaja Jesswunt Sing advancing near, the publick officers of Dekkan went to meet the prince as far as the pass of Ferdapore, and the Mirza Raja to Bullumreh, where he was honoured with an audience. On their arrival at Aurungabad, some days passed in entertainments; when the Mirza Raja, having taken leave, departed for court, but died on the road, soon after his arrival at Boorahanpore, and left a world in sorrow for his loss. There never was a prince among the Raajepootes equal to him in accomplishments. In pleasing manners, he was unparalleled; in valour, second to no one; and his generosity reminded men of * Hatim Tai. He was completely learned in Hindooch, and understood the Turkish, Persic, and Arabic languages. "He will never wholly die, who leaves behind him a good name." When the raja was declared past recovery, Deeraaje, his moonshee and manager of affairs, apprehending his destruction from the Raajepootes, to save himself from their jealousy took refuge with Daood Khan Koreishee, soubahdar of Boorahanpore, and became a mussulmaun. On this account the Raajepootes were strongly suspicious that he had poisoned the raja, and his son Keerut Sing wished much to force him from Daood Khan to put him to a disgraceful death; but not finding an opportunity, after the funeral rites of his father, continued his journey to court.

A. H. 1077.

A. D. 1666.

The emperor recalling Ram Sing, eldest son of the Mirza Raja, who had been forbidden the court since Sewajee's escape, distin-
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* A celebrated Arabian chief.

guished him by the title of raja, and put him in possession of his father's territories.

Sewajee, immediately upon his arrival in Kokun, assumed royal titles and struck coins, detached different bodies to invade the royal territories, plundered the seaport of Surat, the pergunnah of Karinja, and took most of the forts which he had delivered up at his late submission. Some of the governors died in defence of their commands, and every day news was brought to the prince of the loss of one place or other. Sewajee attacking the fort of Maolee, which was much in want of supplies, and every hope of assistance to it cut off, was informed by the governor, Munnower Dafs, that he and his garrison were Raajepootes, who would sacrifice their lives man by man, rather than give up the place. Sewajee was resolved to persist; and one night five hundred of his best troops, well acquainted with the private paths, marched suddenly to the fort, and fixed ladders to the walls, by which they ascended; but the garrison, who were upon the watch day and night, were ready to receive them, and put a great number to the sword; upon which the rest relinquished the attack. Sewajee, upon this failure, raised the siege, and attacked Ouzbuk Khan, the tannadar of Kallean Beemrah, who, with many of his followers, after a gallant resistance, attained the honour of martyrdom, and the survivors fled in a wretched condition to Aurungabad; but Munnower Dafs kept possession of the fort, and sent express accounts of the situation of affairs to the prince.

Daood Beg Khan Koreishee was sent to his assistance, with supplies for the garrisons; and after relieving Munnower Dafs, and throwing in some small quantities of provisions to different forts, retreated. Sewajee again attacked Maolee, and carried it by an assault, in which the new governor, Aliverdi Khan, was slain. Soon after this, he possessed himself of all the newly ceded garrisons, as
also

also of the fort of Aoont, which had long been in the imperial possession. Dilleer Khan, having collected a considerable tribute from Chandna and Deogur, was ordered to carry the treasure to Aurungabad, where he had the honour of an audience from the prince. As Raow Kerrun, the zemindar of Bikkaneer, an ameer of two thousand, and some time kelladaar of Dowlutabad, had lately been very neglectful in the imperial affairs, and his ill conduct had reached the ears of his majesty, his son, who had quarrelled with his father, thought this a proper time for revenge, and obtained the grant of the zemindaree of Bikkaneer for himself. Raow Kerrun upon this, grew daily more and more neglectful; and being at this period detached with Dilleer Khan, not only refused to obey his orders, but as his revenue was stopped, he, for want of money, made a practice of robbing in the camp with his Raajepootes at night, and had the audacity to plunder some villages on the march. Dilleer Khan having proofs of this, and dreading that, if his infolence was unnoticed, he might proceed to excesses which would also endanger his fame, wrote complaining letters of him to court; which were answered by orders to put him to death, or confine him, if he harboured farther evil intentions. The vaqueel of Raow Bhaow Sing Arrah, having obtained intelligence of this order at court, wrote it immediately to his master at the camp of Dilleer Khan.

The morning after the receipt of the order, Dilleer Khan, under pretence of going to hunt, passed near the tents of Raow Kerrun, to whom he sent word that much game was surrounded in the toils, and invited him to come and share in the amusement. The Raow, equally careless of every thing, and unmindful of the deceit intended, quickly mounted his elephant, and came out attended by a few Raajepootes to the Khan; when luckily for him, Raow Bhaow Sing, who had heard of his going, rode up quickly with his followers, and, by drawing his friend from among the Khan's troops,

saved his life. Dilleer Khan was defeated in his design, and rode on towards Aurungabad, where the two raows also arrived some hours after him.

The manners of Dilleer Khan not being agreeable to the prince or Maharaja Jeffwunt Sing, they detached him for the punishment of the enemy towards Zuffirabad Bieder, and the raows, agreeably to the prince's orders, remained at Aurungabad.

A. H. 1078.
A. D. 1667.

Sewajee now entertaining designs of subduing the countries dependant on Beejapore, and wanting to supply his garrisons with provisions, which he could not easily do while invaded, wrote to the Maharaja, that had not the emperor slighted his services, he had intended to offer them against Candahar; that he had made his escape only through fear of his life, but now, (his patron, the Mirza Raja, being dead) if, by his intercession, Jeffwunt Sing could procure a pardon for his late offences, he would send his son Suntah to the prince, that he might be promoted to a munsub, and serve wherever there was occasion. He wrote also in this humble manner to the prince; who, as well as the Maharajah, applied to court in his favour, and their requests met with the royal compliance.

Sewajee upon this, dispatched his son Suntah to Aurungabad, under the care of Pertaub Sing, a principal chief, escorted by a thousand horse; and, after an audience of the prince, he was honoured by the munsub of five thousand, a present of an elephant, and arms set with jewels, as also a jaghire in the province of Berar, to which he detached one half of his force, and kept the other attendant on his person. After some time, Sewajee requested that his son might be sent home, as he was then a child, promising that he should be dispatched to court, when of age to act in the royal service. This was complied with, and a party of the Maharaja's troops

troops escorted him to his father, while Pertaub Sing remained at the prince's court. Suffeh Khan Bukhshi of Dekkan laid before his majesty a list of the munsubdaurs created by the ameer al amra, the Maharajah, and the Mirza Raja Jey Sing. Many were displaced, but some deigned to accept of inferior ranks, and others were restored at the request of the prince. The rest went over to the service of Sewajee, who gladly received them.

When intelligence of this desertion reached Aurungzebe, and it appeared that Suffeh Khan had much oppressed the munsubdaurs of Dekkan, among whom were some old servants of the throne, he was much displeased, and this nobleman was ordered to the presence. He had also confiscated the receipts of some parts of Suntah's jaghire, as a payment of the lack of rupees Sewajee had received from the treasury on his going to court. This circumstance being made known to Sewajee, who had now conquered much of the Beejapore country, and amply supplied all his forts with provisions, he recalled Pertaub Sing from Aurungabad, who left it immediately, and the other part of his force in the jaghires plundered the districts, and went off in spite of a force which was sent in pursuit, but could not overtake them.

Sewajee, during this truce, punished a whole tribe with death, who had rebelled against his father Sahjee in Mudkul, and delivered him up to the resentment of the Beejapore government, by which he was condemned to be buried alive for withholding the revenues of Tanjore, but saved at the intercession of Rundowlah Khan, the minister of Ali Adil Shaw. Sahjee, penetrated with gratitude for this service, being set at liberty and reinstated in his employments, visited his son. Sewajee, notwithstanding his remonstrances, ran ten miles on foot by the side of his palanquin; and on his alighting at his palace seated him on the musnud; while he himself took his slippers, and stood among the menial attendants.

Sahjee

Sahjee spent two months with his son and first wife, in mutual interchanges of affection. Sewajee on this occasion obtained the deserved applause of all mankind, for his conduct to a parent, who had hitherto, from his birth, shewn him no marks of affection, but rather treated him as an alien of the family. Sahjee, after this visit, joined his patron Rundowlah Khan, in reducing the refractory zemindar of Sonedeh Bidenore; at which place he died, by a fall from his horse in hunting. A splendid mausoleum was erected to his memory.

Sewajee obliged the sultan of Beejapore to pay him a tribute of three, and the king of Golconda the sum of four, lacks of pagodas. He had now formed a considerable fleet, with which he infested the coasts, and blocked up Dunda Rajapore, held by the Siddees, who acted as admirals of the few ships of Aurungzebe, to protect the trade of Surat and the coasts, for which they enjoyed large pensions.

About this time a favourite eunuch belonging to Ali Adil Shaw of Beejapore, being disgusted at his sovereign, came over to the prince at Aurungabad. Adil Shaw wrote repeated requests that he should be sent back, agreeing, in case of compliance, to give up the fort of Sholapore, and make a valuable offering. The prince sending intelligence of this to court, his majesty ordered that Geaus ad Dien Khan should go to Beejapore, to determine and collect the offering, and Eeruch Khan be appointed to the government of Sholapore, after which the eunuch should be sent back. This was accordingly done. This year the prince's mother came to Dekkan on a visit to her son, by the emperor's orders, to advise him to continue firm in his allegiance; some suspicions having arisen that he meditated independance.

Dilleer

Dilleer Khan, who had marched against the Mharattas, pursued them as far as Batterree, when an order of recall arrived, commanding him to repair to Aurungabad; but on account of his disagreement with the Maharaja, he was apprehensive for his safety, and delayed. This being represented in a heinous light, he was accused of rebellion to the emperor, who dispatched Iftikhar Khan, by post stages, to enquire into the cause of his not visiting the prince; and if, on examination, it should appear to be rebellion, to bring him by force, and act as circumstances might require, even to the putting him to death, if judged necessary. Multuffut Khan, brother to Iftikhar Khan, incited by friendship to Dilleer Khan, wrote him advice to be wary how he should visit the prince; which increased the apprehensions he had before entertained of treachery.

A. H. 1079.

A. D. 1668.

Iftikhar Khan being arrived at Aurungabad, wrote to Dilleer Khan, that his refusal to visit the prince having been represented to the emperor, he was dispatched express to enquire the cause; therefore, it would be proper that he should march nearer to the city, in order to give him an opportunity of examination. Dilleer Khan having encamped within three coss of Aurungabad, was visited by Iftikhar Khan, who gave him much encouragement and assurances of safety. Dilleer Khan in reply told him he apprehended treachery; upon which the other took an oath that there was none intended; when the Khan showed him his brother's letter, which being original, left him without doubt of the Maharaja's deceit. It was now judged adviseable that Dilleer Khan, under pretence of illness, should continue his operations without visiting the prince. He accordingly moved with his troops in search of the enemy, and Iftikhar sent the account of his brother's information to court. The prince and Maharaja now wrote, that Dilleer Khan had drawn his head from the collar of obedience; and extending the hand of rapine wherever he went, his Afghauns plundered the country. This news was put into all the papers of Dekkan; and Dilleer Khan, not thinking

thinking it safe to remain, marched with intentions to proceed to court; upon which the prince wrote again to the presence, that he was going with evil designs, and a firmaun came not to permit him; when the prince began to levy troops to oppose his passage.

A. H. 1080.

A. D. 1669.

The prince having collected about sixty thousand horse, in the height of the rains marched from Aurungabad to punish Dilleer Khan; who, all his people included, had not more than five thousand. The prince also induced Sewajee to join him by promises of favour, and encamped about fifteen coss from Boorahanpore, and three from the ferry of Hanuck, over the river Taptee, intending to cross and proceed to the city of which Daood Khan was soubahdar.

Orders were sent to procure boats for the passage of the army, when Daood Khan represented, that Dilleer Khan was then sixty coss distant, and had not crossed the river; that to procure boats at so short a warning was impossible, but that in the time which must be expended, if the prince waited for them, he might effectually finish the expedition. The prince replied, that he did not chuse to march such a distance through bad roads; besides, if Dilleer Khan should cross the river before him, the trouble would be thrown away; he therefore thought it best to proceed with the army to Boorahanpore, and, by waiting there, to effectually block up the road. Daood Khan suspecting, from this determination, that a rebellion was on foot, and having informed Raow Bhaow Sing of his conjectures, agreed with him, that if the prince should attempt to cross the river, they would oppose him. The prince and Maharaja Jesswunt Sing perceiving Daood Khan's alarms, attempted to lure him to an interview, with design to make him a prisoner; but he, being experienced, did not throw himself into their snares. Dilleer Khan represented to the presence, that the prince and Maharaja, entertaining rebellious designs, had falsely accused him of disaffection, merely to have a pretence for levying troops; upon which the

the emperor ordered Kokultash Bahadur Khan, soubahdar of Guzarat, to proceed with Koottub ad Dien Khan and the troops under him to Oogein, beyond which he should not allow the prince to pass. A second order soon after arrived for him to take Dilleer Khan with him when he returned to Guzarat. Meer Housseinee was sent from the presence with two firmauns; the first of which was directed to Dilleer Khan, ordering him to Bahadur Khan's camp; and the second to the prince and Maharaja, commanding them to return to Aurungabad. The imperial commands were immediately obeyed, as the Maharaja, who had tempted the prince to disloyalty was afraid, and the prince did not chuse to act with open disrespect to his father. Soon after this, Sewajee again plundered the town of Surat, and the prince sent orders to Daood Khan to intercept his retreat.

Daood Khan, having paid his compliments to the prince, departed in pursuit of Sewajee, and soon had intelligence, that after plundering Surat, he had laid waste the country in the vicinity of the fort of Aurung, named also Multeher, which he was watching for an opportunity to surprize. Messengers soon after this brought intelligence that Sewajee, hearing of the approach of the royal army, had passed by this fort, and was hastening to gain the pass of Kunchenah Munchenah; upon which Daood Khan marched immediately for Chandour, which lay in that road, and Bakee Khan, who had been obliged to retire into the fort from this town, on account of the pressure of the enemy, came to visit him. About midnight the spies brought word, that Sewajee had gone through the pass of Kunchenah Munchenah, from whence he had taken the road to Goolshunabad; leaving a force in the pass to protect those who had fallen in the rear from fatigue and other causes. It was full moon, and Daood immediately marched in pursuit, with such haste, that the little baggage he had fell behind; and towards morning, it growing dark, part of the troops mistook the road,

A. H. 1081.

A. D. 1670.

and separated from the rest. Akhlaafs Khan, who commanded the advanced guard, having gained an eminence, at daylight descried a body of the Mharattas; upon which he ordered his people to prepare; but, before they were ready, he, from the rashness of youth, with a small number, charged the enemy, who were not less than eleven thousand horse, but paid dear for his impatience, and was severely wounded. When Daood Khan came to the height, and beheld the imprudence of Akhlaafs Khan, he detached a reinforcement, and hastened to a ruined village, where leaving the elephant flags and drum bearers, who were tired, under Ibrahim Khan Punnee, with instructions to keep with him the rear and baggage as they came up, he proceeded. The advanced troops soon engaged with the enemy, and at first many of the imperial officers were wounded; but at length, Roy Muckrind and Bhaun Peroheet drove them off with the cannon, and Daood Khan arriving, after taking up Akhlaafs Khan from the ground, pursued them, when a warm action ensued, in which many of the royal troops fell. The Mharattas, according to their custom, attacked on all quarters, but great numbers of them being killed by the cannon shot, the rest fled in confusion. Daood Khan had not with him at this time more than a thousand horse; and though the enemy made a second attack towards nightfall, he conducted himself so gallantly as again to defeat them; after which he ordered up the baggage, and took proper care of the wounded officers and men. The next day, he marched to Goolshunabad, and sent the wounded on to Aurungabad. Certain news arriving of the Mharattas having retreated to Kokun, he halted about a month; after which he moved the camp to Ahmednuggur, where he received letters from his son Hummeed ad Dien Khan, his deputy in the government of Boorahanpore, that the Mharattas with a very large force meditated an attack upon the city, which he was preparing to defend, but ample and speedy assistance was necessary. Daood Khan moved instantly; and on hearing that the enemy had plundered Bahadurpore, within two miles

miles of the city, redoubled his speed; but on his arrival at Ferdapore intelligence was brought him, that they had retreated towards Buggellana, upon which he altered his route to pursue. The enemy plundered the town of Multeher, under the fort of Aurungghur, and then besieged Sultanghur, commonly named Salheer.

Daood Khan arrived at Multeher about eight o'clock at night, after a forced march, but the baggage did not come up, nor also a great number of the sepoys, until the next day. Here he left the baggage, and the next morning, before sunrise, moved to the relief of Salheer; but before he had advanced far, hearing that it had been taken, he returned, and halted some days; after which, securing his baggage at the pass of Kunchenah Munchenah, he prepared to follow the enemy with speed, who were plundering on all quarters. Meer Syed at the fort of Tippehghur in Berar, hearing of a body of the enemy collected in the neighbourhood, marched upon them in the night, and put seven hundred to the sword. At this time, the emperor being much displeased at the ill conduct of the Maharaja Jeffwunt Sing, in exciting enmity between the prince and Dilleer Khan, recalled him from Dekkan, and ordered him to Guzarat, sending in his room Lohrasp Mahabut Khan, son of the celebrated Mahabut Khan Jechaungeeree. This ameer, after the death of his late majesty, left off beating the nobut as usual, only at twelve o'clock at night and at daybreak he sounded it a short time, merely out of cool respect to the reigning monarch; but during the time of marching, when it was not customary, from setting out until his arrival at the ground, his elephant drums never ceased, and at every two miles one loud beat of the nobut was sounded. When he alighted, a general discharge of the artillery was given. This displeasing Aurungzebe, he was recalled from the government of Cabul to the presence, and shortly after ordered to command the army in Dekkan. He had three thousand household troops, his own dependants. Daood Khan being appointed

his second, was disgusted, and requested to be recalled. Mahabut, after paying his respects to the prince at Aurungabad, joined the army at Chandour, where he was visited by Daood Khan, who, though an ameer of five thousand, was not treated by him with much attention; which encreased that nobleman's disgust, and raised it into enmity; but as the imperial affairs were in question, and dependant on their agreement, he did not chuse to shew it openly.

It was determined that, prior to engaging in other service, the fort of Aoont, which Sewajee had reduced, should be retaken. Accordingly, Mahabut Khan carried on his approaches on one side, and Daood Khan on others, so as to form a blockade. The batteries played for a whole month, when a breach being made on the side of Mahabut Khan, the besieged, terrified at the dangers of a storm, applied to Daood Khan, who let them pass from the fort through his entrenchments, and sending his own men, took possession of the place. Mahabut Khan, as this was done without his knowledge, was much offended, and their mutual hatred grew to the greatest pitch. The fort being properly garrisoned, the army marched to Ahmednuggur, and then cantoned for the rainy season in the pergunnah of Balneer; but Daood Khan, agreeably to his petition, was recalled to the presence.

A. H. 1082. Mahabut Khan, during the months of the rains, spent his time
A. D. 1671. in a continual round of festivity, giving no attention to publick affairs or the punishment of the enemy; and the army was corrupted by his luxury and indolent example. He had brought in his train to Dekkan, four hundred dancing girls, drolls, and mimics of Cabul and Lahore, who were daily rewarded by presents and favours. It at last reached the emperor's ear, that Mahabut Khan was in secret combination with Sewajee, whom he did not push to such extremities, nor punish, as he had it in his power to do.

Upon

Upon this, he was recalled to court, and Kokultash Khan appointed in his stead, who, with Dilleer Khan Afghaun, Koottab ad Dien Khan, and others, coming from Guzarat, agreeably to the imperial orders, immediately besieged the fort of Sultanghur, detaching for this purpose Akhlaas Khan Meana, Raow Amir Sing Chunderaowt, with their own and other troops. Kokultash Khan marched to within six coss of Ahmednuggur to meet Mahabut Khan, who after the interview departed for court. Intelligence now arrived, that the enemy had attacked Akhlaas Khan, who, with Mohukkum Sing, son of Raow Amir Sing Chunderaowt, being badly wounded, were taken prisoners. The raow himself, with many others, falling in the action, the royal forces were defeated, and all the baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Bahadur Khan, upon this, marched day and night to overtake them, but upon his arrival at Noleher in Buggellana, learned that they had safely retreated to Kokun with all their plunder.

A body of Afghauns in the service of Dilleer Khan having committed great irregularities, and killed a traveller, Bahadur Khan endeavoured to bring the murderers to punishment, but they could not be apprehended, as they always screened each other; upon which Bahadur Khan, by way of example, to deter them for the future, drew out his artillery; but they, disregarding this, began to throw rockets, when he ordered the cannon to fire, and about six hundred of the Afghauns were in an instant laid dead on the plain. The prince Mahummud Mauzim was recalled from the government of Dekkan, and Bahadur Khan appointed to succeed him. Namdaur Khan, the son of Jaffier Khan, was entrusted with the care of the country of Buggellana. Jadoo Terrai Dekkannee and Seedee Hullall Khan were dispatched to protect Goolshunabad and prevent the Mharattas from entering the country on that quarter.

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The prince Mahumud Mauzim having shewn great favour to, and having an affectionate regard for, Mohin Sing, son of Raow Kerrun, on this account he was much envied by the prince's servants, who were daily seeking for an opportunity to disgrace him. It happened that a tame deer, belonging to Mahummud Shaw, the meer tozuk, escaping from his keeper, strayed into Mohin Sing's court, and was brought to him by his servants. He, not knowing whose it was, and seeing it a fine animal, ordered it to be kept. The next morning, when Mohin Sing was sitting in the hall of audience with other attendants, before the prince's entrance, Mahummud Shaw came up to him, and began to cavil. Though Mohin Sing repeatedly assured him that he would return the deer as soon as he went home, this did not satisfy him; and advancing to the seat, he exclaimed, "Send for it here instantly, or I will not let you rise." Mohin Sing, upon this, being much enraged, clapping his hand to his sabre, got up quickly, and a rencontre ensued, in which they each received several wounds. At length, some of the prince's servants rushed together on Mohin Sing, who, being weak from loss of blood, leaned against a pillar of the hall, when an armourbearer gave him another wound on the head, and he fainted away on the ground; but his servants now gathered round him, and prevented his receiving further hurt. Puddum Sing, his elder brother, who was sitting in another part of the hall, hearing of his being wounded, now ran up, and with one stroke of his sabre finished Mahummud Shaw; upon which the prince's servants ran confusedly out of the balcony, and others threw themselves headlong into the area. Puddum Sing stood over the body of Mahummud Shaw, resolved to kill any one who should attempt to take it away; when a number of Raajepootes, belonging to him and his brother, entered the hall with a palanquin, into which they put Mohin Sing, not yet dead, and were advanced on the way out as far as the station of the rocket men, when the prince entered the hall, but, seeing all in confusion, instantly retired, and ordered

ordered strict search to be made for the murderer of Mohin Sing, but his domestics concealed him. Puddum Sing, suspecting that the prince might be displeased and order him to be apprehended, resolved to die in that case on the spot, and therefore continued standing, until raja Roy Sing Sefodia, an ameer of five thousand, came and carried him in safety to Mohin Sing's house.

Mohin Sing breathed his last on the road home, and his women burned themselves alive with the corpse. The prince was much affected with grief; but, though he made much enquiry, never could find out the murderer.

Sewajee at this time, having made a peace with the king of Hyderabad, and received promises and assurances to his perfect satisfaction, went to visit him. Adna Pundit, the king's minister, though a man of great policy and cunning, and a rival of Sewajee in intrigue, was deceived by his superior art. It was agreed that, joining forces, they should march against the Beejapore sultan, and divide what country they might conquer between them, and afterwards expel the Moguls from Dekkan. Their first operation was planned against Tanjaver, a zemindaree belonging to Angojee, Sewajee's half brother, tributary to Beejapore.

Sewajee accordingly, having received a great sum of money and large reinforcements of troops from Hyderabad, marched for Tanjaver, and wrote to Angojee to come and meet him. Angojee, not dreaming of his brother's treachery, came from Tanjaver to Jinjee, agreeably to his request; and they had an interview, at which Sewajee demanded the treasures which their father Sahjee, he said, had left to him. Angojee, now seeing no way for escape but by chicane, humbly told his brother, that the fort of Tanjaver, the country, and every thing he had, was at his service; which declaration satisfied Sewajee, who supposed he had his brother

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in his power, and that he could get from him what he pleased; but for once he was deceived. Angojee having returned to his tents, fled the same night, with a few confidential servants, for Tanjaver, where he arrived in twenty hours from Jinjee, which is distant one hundred and twenty miles from that fort. Sewajee upon this plundered his brother's camp; and having gotten possession of Jinjee by treachery, as also of some other forts belonging to Beejapore and Hyderabad, into which he put his own garrisons, retreated, and then sent back the Hyderabad troops to their own country. Bahadur Khan hearing of the meeting between Sewajee and the king of Hyderabad, marched into his territories; and having exacted the payment of a large sum of money as a fine, returned to Ahmednuggur; where he remained some time, and then encamped for the rains at the great tank of Ferrah Baug. Akhlaas Khan Meana, Mohukkum Sing, and others who had been wounded and taken prisoners at Sultanghur, being now released, joined the camp at Ahmednuggur; and having paid their respects to Bahadur Khan, were re-established in their different ranks. Jadoo Terrai Dekkannee and Seedee Hullall, who had been sent for the protection of Goolshunabad, having been reprimanded harshly by Bahadur Khan on the Mharattas entering their neighbourhood, in resentment, deserted to Sewajee's army. As the Mharattas had invaded the imperial territories, Bahadur Khan marched from Ahmednuggur, and, leaving most of his baggage in the fort of Candahar, advanced with all speed in pursuit of the enemy to the fort of Ramgeer, where he learned that they had left that place two days before, after plundering the town and carrying away some of the wives of the inhabitants prisoners. The khan, arriving in the vicinity of Hyderabad, plundered and laid waste some places, at the instigation of Dilleer Khan. Intelligence was brought, that the enemy, who had been at Ramgeer, were now divided into two bodies, one of which had passed on the borders of the Hyderabad territories into their own country, and the other near Terk Chandeh were

were plundering the imperial possessions. Bahadur Khan dispatched Dilleer Khan, Koottub ad Dien Khan, and other chiefs, after the enemy, who had retreated homewards, and marched in pursuit of the other body himself; sending Bakee Khan and Futtach Khan with the artillery and baggage to Aurungabad. He came up with and engaged the enemy at a pass near the fort of Antour. Raja Shujaun Sing Bondela, and his brother Inder Mun, with the Mogul cavalry, formed the advanced guard. The enemy stood firm for some time, till Soopkerrun Bondela charged the grand body in conjunction with the troops of Balcheram; when, after a short struggle, they fled, and the royal army pursuing them till night, took much spoil and many horses, which had been seized from merchants, to whom they were mostly restored. Bahadur Khan marched the next day through the pass of Antour, and the day after resolved to reach Aurungabad, which was sixteen coss distant. A few officers, who had rode on before, fell in with some thousands of the enemy, and defended themselves on an eminence till the army came up, when they fled, and Soopkerrun Bondela pursued them for some coss, and killed above four hundred, taking much plunder: his son Raow Dulput was wounded. The next day Bahadur Khan arrived with the army at Aurungabad, and encamped some time in the neighbourhood of that city. He conferred presents of horses and arms on his gallant officers, and, in return for their services, recommended them to his majesty for promotion to higher rank. He next marched from Aurungabad to Satterah Batterah, thirty coss distant, where he encamped. Dilleer Khan, with his detachment, had pursued the enemy as far as the fort of Merrooje in Beejapore, when he returned with much plunder taken from them. As the Mharattas had for the two last spring harvests made incursions into Khandeshe through the hills of Ballaghaut, Bahadur Khan caused redoubts to be erected in each pass, and artillery, with proper guards, to be stationed in them. Accordingly, they were built at the following places; Ferdapore, Loondapore, Mulkapore, Kuffo-ree,

ree, Raujdehr, Laknehwara, Deogam, Rajorah, Dilleerpore, and three or four other places.

This year died Koottub al Moolk, sultan of Hyderabad; and, leaving behind him no male children, was succeeded by Abou Houffun, who had married his eldest daughter; a person of a most debauched character; but, to the surprize of all, upon his accession to the throne he threw off every bad habit, and became both an excellent man and prince. According to custom, he sent ambassadors to the imperial court with proper offerings, which were received, and a gracious firmaun returned in answer.

Mahabut Khan, on his arrival at court from Dekkan, was appointed a second time to the government of Cabul; but again displaced in a short time after, and died on the road in his way to the presence. He was a chief possessed of true nobility, and a great encourager of brave soldiers, of whom he had always a fine household body. He had a reliance on the Raajepootes, in preference to the Moguls, Shekhs, or Afghauns; and, when in Dekkan, had about a thousand of the former with him, to whose charge he always trusted the guard of his haram and sleeping apartments. Bahadur Khan bestowed a munsub and other honours on Beejajee Naick, a capital zemindar of Dekkan, whose son had married Sewajee's daughter, and was a chief of great gallantry and reputation.

A. H. 1083-4.
A. D. 1672-3.

Bahadur Khan, learning that the Mharattas were collecting in the neighbourhood of Poonah, left his baggage at Chummar Koon-dah, and by forced marches came up with and gave them a signal defeat, in which Soopkerrun Bondela behaved with particular gallantry. He then moved to Burragaum, twenty coss distant from Ahmednuggur, on the banks of the Beemrah, a river separating the Hyderabad territories from those of Beejapore, and which has
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its source from the mountains of Kokun at a place called Bhamean Sunkree, near the fort of Loeghur. Here Bahadur, to perpetuate his memory, built a fort and erected a magnificent palace, which he called Bahadur Ghur. Dulput Roy Bondela was promoted to the rank of three hundred, and the sons of Bahadur Khan, Mirza Houffun and Mirza Mhouffun, were honoured with the titles of khan. Inder Mun Bondela was appointed to command the station of Goolshunabad. Sutterfal, the son of Chumput Bondela, disgusted at not finding promotion, and being in distressed circumstances, went over to Sewajee; but, as he placed little confidence in the people of Hindoostan, after shewing him some civilities, he gave him his dismissal; upon which, finding himself without resource, he returned to his own country, where, collecting his dependants, he raised a rebellion, and possessed himself of great part of the zemindaree.

About this time died Ali Adil Shaw, king of Beejapore, whose ancestors were descendants of the emperors of Turkey. Eufuff, a prince of the Ottoman family, was entrusted by his mother to the care of a merchant, through fear of the brother, then emperor. The merchant coming to Damaun brought the young prince with him, and from thence travelled to Dekkan, where, fortune befriending his charge, he founded the kingdom of Beejapore, styling himself Eufuff Adil Shaw, and erected the citadel of Beejapore, which bears his name. Ali was succeeded by his son Secunder, an infant. Khouafs Khan Hubshee, a favourite of his father's, was entrusted with his education and the command of the fort. Abd al Kerreem Meana, the son of Abd al Raheem, son of Belole Khan, (who, in the reign of the late emperor Shaw Jehaun, had followed the fortunes of Khan Jehaun Lodi, and escaped with him from Agra, upon his death entering first into the service of the king of Hyderabad, and afterwards of the Beejapore prince, who raised him to high rank) commanded the minor king's armies.

A. H. 1085.

A. D. 1674.

On the death of Ali Adil Shaw, Sewajee, intending to reduce the country, and marry his son Sambah to the daughter of Rustum Raow, with royal splendour and magnificence, in order to divert from him the imperial arms, that he might be at liberty to execute his designs, began to intrigue for that purpose. He dismissed Jadoo Terrai and Hullall Khan, who had deserted to him from the imperial army, telling them he could not keep them, as he now meant to ask for peace. These chiefs having at the intercession of Soopkerrun Bondela been pardoned by Bahadur Khan, returned to his camp. Sewajee now sent deputies, with presents of an elephant and many rarities, to Bahadur Khan, requesting a truce, till through his interest forgiveness of his crimes from the emperor could be ratified; upon the arrival of which, if the Khan would send his eldest son to conduct him, he would submit to his clemency. Bahadur Khan, not aware of his intriguing craft, consented to a truce, and immediately sent off an express to the emperor, then at Houssun Abdal on the borders of Cabul, which arrived at court in thirteen days. A firmaun was issued in reply, that he should be cautious not to be deceived by the Mharatta, and before he formed any treaty, send Mallek Berkhordar, who knew the artifice of Sewajee, with some confidential servants of his own, to sound his secret designs, which he should, when explored, communicate to the emperor, who would then give further orders.

Bahadur Khan, upon the arrival of the firmaun, dispatched Mahummud Saad Khan and Gongaram Guzaratee, confidants of his own, with Mallek Berkhordar, to amuse Sewajee. This crafty politician, who had already found time to effect part of his schemes and possess himself of the fort of Pernalleh, belonging to Beejapore, received the deputies at Rairee, and for the first day treated them with all customary honours; but the next, gave them a final answer, saying, "What superiority has your master gained over me, that I should consent to submission? Be gone speedily from
" hence,

"hence, or you will be disgraced." Upon hearing this, the affrighted deputies returned with an account of their reception to Bahadur Khan, who forwarded it to court. The emperor, out of his abundant kindness, to console the mortified khan, promoted him to the rank of seven thousand horse and the title of Khan Jehaun Bahadur Kokultash Zuffir Jung; his elder brother, named Muzzuffir Houssain, to the title of Azum Khan and rank of six thousand; and his sons, one to the title of Muzzuffir Khan, and the other, of Nufferut Khan, with proportionable commands.

Bahadur Khan upon this promotion kept a grand festival, to which he invited Namdaur Khan, the son of Jaffier Khan, from Buggellana; and gave away among the amras and their followers, thirty one elephants, above five hundred horses, two thousand elegant dresses, besides swords, armour and other valuable articles.

At this time contentions prevailed between the Dekkanees and Afghauns of Beejapore. Dunmanut Pundit, who was much in the confidence of Khouafs Khan, artfully promoted the inveteracy of the parties, in hopes that he should succeed whatever chief might be displaced. He observed to Khouafs Khan, that the Afghauns had acquired too much power in the state; that the prince being a minor, himself confined to the fort, and Sewajee having seized many districts of the kingdom, in this situation it would be prudent to implore the protection of the emperor, in conjunction with his troops to punish Sewajee, and regain the usurped territories; which effected, he might then easily expell the mutinous and rebellious Afghauns.

The Ethiopian approved of his schemes, and sent his dewan, Serjam Raow, to Zuffir Jung with offers of friendship and alliance, as also an invitation to a conference. Zuffir Jung, upon receiving this unexpected but welcome overture, proposed that Khouafs Khan should

should march from Beejapore to Burrapore on the banks of the Kistnah, where he would meet him. Accordingly, both parties moving to the place appointed, magnificent tents were pitched; but, as the waters of the Kistnah suddenly rose very high, Zuffir Jung went in boats to the camp of Khouafs Khan, from whence, after some conversation, he brought him back with him to his own, and gave him and all his followers a grand entertainment and rich presents. Mutual alliances were entered into, and the daughter of Khouafs Khan was betrothed to Nufferut Jung, the second son of Zuffir Jung; after which the two chiefs took leave of each other, and departed to execute their intended purposes.

Abd al Kerreem, who had attended Khouafs Khan, was encamped at the distance of twelve miles, and Dunnanut conveyed to him all the particulars of the interview between Zuffir Jung and his master, insidiously observing, that if the Hubshee should make the fort and kingdom an offering to the emperor Aulumgeer, it would put an end to Abd al Kerreem's and his own fortunes.

Abd al Kerreem, who was eager to obtain the regency, determined to take an opportunity of confining Khouafs Khan on the march to Beejapore; but he being informed of his treachery, left the camp and baggage at Alingah, forty miles from the city, to which he departed suddenly in the night, and thus defeated the designs of his enemy. On Abd al Kerreem's arrival at Beejapore, a negotiation of reconciliation was set on foot, and at length Khouafs Khan, with a few attendants, came out of the citadel to encourage the Afghauns; and after the usual ceremonies of meeting, retired with Abd al Kerreem only, to consult in a private apartment. On notice being given that Khizzer Khan Punnee, a principal ameer, was approaching, Abd al Kerreem left the room, as if to meet him, but the door was shut immediately after him, and Khouafs Khan made a prisoner under a strong guard. Jumsheed, a slave of Abd
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al Kerreem's, got into the fort without opposition; and soon after he, with Khizzer Khan, entered, and treating with shekh Munnaje and the other Dekkanees, persuaded them to march against Sewajee, towards the river Kistnah; after which he put Khouas Khan to death.

Soon after this, Abd al Kerreem dispatched Khizzer Khan towards the Kistnah, with instructions to assassinate shekh Munnaje. Khizzer Khan for this purpose invited him to an entertainment. The shekh complied with the invitation, and had left his tents, when on the road he heard, that Khizzer Khan had placed a number of armed men in concealment to murder him. The shekh, notwithstanding, proceeded, and when Khizzer Khan came to meet him, alighted and embraced, but stabbed the treacherous nobleman while he had him in his arms, escaped, and joined his troops on the other side of the river. A scuffle ensued between the Afghaun and Dekkanees attendants, in the square of the tents, in which many were slain on both sides.

Shekh Munnaje retired to Adonee, and being joined by Seedee Musafood, Syed Mukhdoom, Sheerza Khan, and other Dekkan lords, made an alliance with Kafil Koor, a principal zemindar, who had a considerable force, and it was resolved between them, to attack Abd al Kerreem and cut him off.

Abd al Kerreem being informed of the union of the Dekkanees, prepared a considerable army, and marched to oppose them; when a desperate battle was fought near the fort of Shaw Doneghur, twelve cofs from Adonee, in which many chiefs were killed on both sides, and it was doubtful to whom remained the victory. Kafil Koor, the zemindar, was slain. At night Abd al Kerreem beat the march of victory, and encamped on the field of battle. The Dekkanees having in the night conducted their wounded to Adonee, most

most of them went over to the king of Hyderabad. Shekh Mun-naje took up his residence at Koolburga in his own jaghire, and Abd al Kerreem, with his force much diminished, retired to Beejapore, where he put to death Dunnanut Pundit, who had been the instigator of such fatal faction, and seizing all his wealth paid his troops their arrears with the money; thus verifying the observation, that "He who digs a pit for another, often falls into it himself."

This year the Mharattas invaded the imperial territories near Aurungabad, and Khan Jehaun pursuing them, engaged and defeated their army near Lafoor, only fourteen coss from the city; after which he chased them as far as the fort of Chumber in Kokun. At this time came intelligence of the imprisonment and death of Khouafs Khan, which disappointed Khan Jehaun's measures, and he represented the affair to court; after which he returned to the cantonments at Bahadur Ghur. Orders came from the emperor, that he should endeavour either to take Abd al Kerreem prisoner, or put him to death, and besiege Beejapore. Dilleer Khan was again appointed second to Khan Jehaun, and departed instantly on his nomination from court to Dekkan.

A. H. 1086, Khan Jehaun having made the necessary preparations for the
A. D. 1675. war against Beejapore, ordered Islaam Khan Roomee, (formerly named Houffein and pasha of Bufforah, who had sought protection with the emperor some years since, and was promoted to the government of Malwa) from Aurungabad, the charge of which city was given to Raow Bhaow Sing, and marched to the banks of the Beemrah, ten coss from Sholapore, where he waited for the junction of his troops.

Abd al Kerreem Khan, having left Beejapore, with a great army encamped at Abundee, about six coss distant; upon which,
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Khan Jehaun sent the women of his camp, with his own and the superfluous baggage, to Sholapore, and stationing what he meant to carry with him on this side the Beemrah, which was at this time very high, crossed with the troops, and formed his disposition of battle. On this day, Raow Raaje Sing Rhatoree, commanding the advanced body of the army, who had been long ill, died on the march. Shekh Munnaje and shekh Mahummud Juneedee, having agreeably to promise arrived from Koolburga, were introduced to Khan Jehaun by raja Soopkerrun Bondela, and received a present of elephants, horses, and one lack of rupees. Next day the two armies prepared for engagement. Koottub ad Dien Khan with the advance, Islaam Khan on the right, with the corps of Soopkerrun Bondela, shekh Munnaje and others, Raow Anoop Sing, Ragonaut Sing Mharatta, Bocheraje Cutchwai and others, on the left, having formed, the battle commenced. The enemy charged furiously in front of Islaam Khan, but his Turks drove them off twice with great loss, when their ammunition being expended, Islaam Khan ordered up stores, close to his elephant, and was supplying his men, when a spark unfortunately lighting among a quantity of cartridges, they blew up, killing and wounding a great number; but to add to the melancholy event, the khan's elephant being frightened at the explosion, became ungovernable, and ran into the enemy's line, where the khan, his son, and the driver, with some horse who had followed their leader, were soon cut to pieces; but the elephant having received several wounds, ran back without his houdah, which had been cut off his back. The heat of the battle next fell on Soopkerrun Bondela, who, together with shekh Munnaje and other chiefs, was wounded. The left wing was also engaged, and Raow Kibber Sing Rhatoree, Kerrun Sing, a munsubdar, with Raow Raaje Sing, and the other Raajepootes, after fighting desperately, were wounded. Great numbers on both sides fell, and the swarry elephant of Abd al Kerreem was taken by Kishoor Sing Harrah. The battle ceased on the approach of night,

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without being decisive on either side. Khan Jehaun remained on this side the river, threw up entrenchments round his camp, and fortified them with artillery. The Afghans during the night made an attack upon the baggage on the other side of the river, great part of which they plundered, put numbers to death, and carried off such of the followers of the camp as they chose; so that, from this loss, and the sudden rise of the river, it no longer remained in the power of the imperial army to oppose the Afghans. Koot-tub ad Dien Khan, with the approbation of Khan Jehaun, formed a truce; and the army then recrossing the river, shekh Munnaje was dispatched to Koolburga, to secure possession if possible of that fortress. At this time Dilleer Khan arrived from the presence, and the waters of the Beemrah, on account of the rains, still continuing exceedingly high, it was agreed for the present, that the fort of Tulderruk should be taken from the sons of Khizzer Khan Punnee, who resided there. Khan Jehaun accordingly marched, and began his approaches. Raja Inder Mun Bondela, agreeably to orders, joined the camp from Goolshunabad. Mahummud Atta, a son of Khan Jehaun's, being wounded by a cannon shot, died. Akhlaas Khan Meana made an assault on the town belonging to the fort, and carried it. Abd al Kerreem at the instigation of the Afghans in the royal army, who respected him on account of their connection by tribe, having moved from Beejapore, crossed the Beemrah with a considerable force, to the relief of Tulderruk; upon which Khan Jehaun thought proper to raise the siege and march to receive the enemy. Abd al Kerreem encamped within six miles of the fort, and his tents appeared in sight of the royal camp. Though the day was far spent and twilight approached, yet by the advice of Dilleer Khan and others, having left Runmust Khan for the protection of the baggage, a battle commenced. A body of Afghans from Abd al Kerreem's line, and another from the fort, having formed a junction, charged in the rear of Khan Jehaun's army, and the khan having crossed a watercourse, deep and muddy, with Boche-raaje

raaje Cutchwai and Ragonaut Sing Mharatta, opposed the enemy. Bocheraaje was killed fighting gallantly, and the latter, with many others, was wounded. Koottub ad Dien Khan, charging to their assistance, preserved the wounded from being cut to pieces. Abd al Kerreem trying to gain the fort during the night, his baggage was plundered, and Khan Jehaun followed him within cannon shot of the walls. After some days the army encamped at Khautkaloon, eight coss from Tulderruk. Raow Anoop Sing, at the request of Khan Jehaun, was honoured with the title of raja. Madna Pundit, minister to Abou Houffun, king of Hyderabad, had joined Abd al Kerreem with troops and money; but seeing that opposition could not in the end be made to the imperial army, retreated to his own country. Abd al Kerreem, after remaining a month in Tulderruk, returned to Beejapore. Khan Jehaun sent his dewan Luckeram, to bring over some Beejapore chiefs, who had taken refuge at Hyderabad, as also the troops of that state, to join him, and marched in pursuit of Abd al Kerreem towards the Beemrah. Many skirmishes happened on the route. At Hingeh he halted, and called together the Dekkanees and exiled Beejaporees, who had fled to different places. Seedee Musaood, Sheerza Khan, and others, joined. Luckeram brought an army from Hyderabad, and had also effected a truce with Sewajee. Four thousand horse, sent by different imperial fojedaars, and a number of other troops, joined; so that an army was now collected sufficient to reduce Beejapore.

While affairs were thus situated, the Afghaun chiefs of the imperial army, out of regard to their tribe, privately sent messages to Abd al Kerreem, that if this vast army should march to Beejapore, his affairs would be ruined past redemption; so that his only way to avoid the storm would be to make proposals of peace to Khan Jehaun, and come in to visit him, after which the troops

would be dispersed, and he be at liberty to regulate his government.

Abd al Kerreem, listening to this advice, entreated peace of Khan Jehaun, promising that if the imperial army should move to the banks of the Beemrah, he would come to meet him; and requesting that he would send Akhlaafs Khan to conduct him to an interview; after which he would submit to any conditions he might impose, as he regarded himself now as the emperor's subject.

Khan Jehaun, after deliberating on the discordant state of his army, agreed to his requests; and having sent away the auxiliaries to their different countries, moved from Hingeh, and encamped on the banks of the Beemrah.

A. H. 1086.

A. D. 1676.

Khan Jehaun, agreeably to the request of Abd al Kerreem, sent his brother Akhlaafs Khan to meet him, and a few days afterwards dispatched also Koottub ad Dien Khan. A letter arrived from shekh Munnaje, that now there was an opportunity, which, if troops were sent to Alinder, he would seize, of acquiring the fort of Koolburga. Abd al Kerreem requesting that Dilleer Khan might be sent to receive him, Khan Jehaun left him at Angulkote, and went himself to Alinder, from whence he sent Gongaram, his own dewan, with Vizier Beg, son to Collinder Khan, the kelladaar of Zuffirabad Bieder, to shekh Munnaje, who, on the day of their arrival with him, got admission into Koolburga by treachery, and having confined Nangooroy, the khelladaar, put the place into their possession, and agreeably to orders returned to Khan Jehaun. Khan Jehaun, through Runmust Khan, made promises of munsubs and presents to the sons and dependants of Khizzer Khan, and sending his own bukhshi, Alla ad Dien Khan, to them, they evacuated the fort of Tulderruk, when Zuffirnuggur, commonly called Tumnee, was allotted for the residence of their families.

lies. After visiting Tulderruk, and ordering measures for its safety, he returned to camp, and dispatched to court an account of his operations; which meeting the emperor's approbation, the sons of Khan Jehaun were promoted to higher rank; Muzzuffir Khan to the title of Himmud Khan Bahadur, and Nufferut Khan to that of Sippedar Khan. Raja Inder Mun Bondela dying, at the request of Khan Jehaun, his zemindaree and the title of raja were conferred upon his son Jeffwunt Sing.

Abd al Kerreem having left Beejapore with Akhlaas Khan, and condoled with the sons of Koottub ad Dien Khan, who had died on the road, met Dilleer Khan. He encamped about four coss from Alinder; and Khan Jehaun, agreeably to his promises, having pitched a most splendid tent, with poles and ornaments of silver, went in the greatest pomp and magnificence, attended by all the amras, to receive him. Abd al Kerreem Khan and Dilleer Khan, with all the Afghans in their train, advanced, and the chiefs first met sitting on their elephants, and, after passing mutual compliments, alighted at the tent; when Khan Jehaun presented Abd al Kerreem with elephants, horses, and arms, ornaments of jewels, trays of rich cloths, as also the tent, and proper carriages for its conveyance. After conversation, he dismissed him to his camp, and returned to his own. Mallek Berkhordar, agreeably to the emperor's orders, was sent as resident to Beejapore. Abd al Ruffool Khan was appointed kelladaar of Koolburga, Collinder Khan of Tulderruk, and Vizier Beg exalted by the title of Jaun Baz Khan.

Abd al Kerreem Khan and Dilleer Khan being dissatisfied at Khan Jehaun's having got possession of Tulderruk and Koolburga, agreeably to the schemes they had formed from the instant of their meeting, wrote petitions to court, setting forth, that Khan Jehaun had made private agreements with the king of Hyderabad, the Dekkan-

nees,

nees, the king of Beejapore, and Sewajee, and did not act with vigour in his government; but that if he should be called to the presence, and proper assistance afforded them, they would bring Hyderabad into the imperial possession without delay.

Khan Jehaun, with Abd al Kerreem and the united armies, marched from Alinder to Koolburga, and it was agreed that they should go shortly against Hyderabad. They visited the tomb of the famous syed Mahummud Gesoo-derauz, who flourished in the reign of sultan Firoze Bhamenee. It is a very magnificent edifice, covered with a dome, in the middle of an extensive court. Many of his descendants repose near the saint, over whom they have erected domes. A number of them still reside there; and during the reigns of the Dekkan sultans, great sums of money were annually offered to them in vows and presents. The kings of Beejapore and Hyderabad, as also the zemindars in the vicinity, every year gave rich presents, and many villages were assigned by both kings to defray the expenses of the tomb. When it came into the imperial possession, Aurungzebe also settled some farms upon it. There is almost a continual dissension between the descendants of the saint, who generally come to blows every year; and they spend their time in an affluence and luxury, enjoyed but by few of the first nobles. There are also at Koolburga many tombs of the Bhamenee kings of Dekkan. In the pergunnah of Alinder are the magnificent sepulchres of Ladee Ansa-ree, the saint's sister, and her children; and at Boorahannuggur those of many celebrated personages.

The emperor, deceived by the petitions before mentioned, recalled Khan Jehaun from Dekkan, and appointed Dilleer Khan in his room. Khan Jehaun left Koolburga for court, the same day that the firmaun arrived for his recall.

Dilleer

Dilleer Khan and Abd al Kerreem marched with the army to Mulkeh, a fort ten coss from Koolburga, which being but of little strength, the besieged evacuated it in the night, and fled to join the Dekkanees, who made such opposition, that the Afghauns durst not even dare to look towards Hyderabad. There now fell a continual rain, and the scarcity of grain in the camp became excessive. Skirmishes between the two armies occurred for two months together daily. Mahummud Beg Khan, commander of the artillery, Serafrauz Khan Dekkanee and his sons, with many other imperial officers, were wounded. The other Afghauns who had an enmity to Runmust Khan and the sons of Khizzer Khan, for having given up the fort of Tulderruk, did not assist them in the day of battle; but, as they had a select body of their own, they gallantly stood firm in the field, were wounded, and great numbers of their followers killed.

The troops of Abd al Kerreem being distressed, deserted in great numbers; so that the tide of ill fortune turned against the royal army, and it became impossible to remain much longer in the enemy's country. Dilleer Khan therefore, on this account, and to please Abd al Kerreem, for whom he entertained the utmost friendship, and who had been taken ill, set on foot a negotiation of truce with the Dekkanees, and began to retreat towards Koolburga, intending to leave his superfluous baggage there, and after supplying himself with provisions, to return and attack them.

The first day's march the Dekkanees did not molest him; but on the second, looking on the Afghauns as running away, appeared in great numbers, attacked the baggage, killed hundreds of people, and acquired an immense plunder. The fight continued from daylight till sun-set, when the royal army halted at a dry nullah, where it remained two days in the greatest confusion, being obliged to dig wells,

wells, before the camp could be supplied with water. Akhlaafs Khan and Runmuft Khan Punnee commanded the right wing, Abd al Kerreem the left, Dilleer Khan protected the baggage, and Soopkerrun Bondela, with Ghierut and Muzzuffir, nephews of Dilleer Khan, were stationed in the rear of the whole; but though they had above eight thousand horse, it was difficult to quit their station. Soopkerrun Bondela, his son Dulput Roy, and the other Raajepoote chiefs, having consulted together, represented to Dilleer Khan that it was impossible to remain here longer, as the army must perish from want of provisions. This advice had a proper effect, and the chiefs being all united, for the royal honour, and their own preservation, at length marched, but in twelve days could only move ten coss, when they arrived at Koolburga. The Dekkanees, who were full seventy thousand in number, seldom ceased from the attack; but as the fortune of Aurungzebe attended the Raajepootes, the enemy did not prevail. The Raajepootes upon this trying occasion shewed astonishing instances of valour; but which to relate would appear as vain boasting. Mahummud, the son of Koottub ad Dien Khan, was killed by a rocket; and on this march the camp was without grain for some days, when the poorer sort were obliged to eat the roots of the plaintain and date tree, from which numbers were taken ill, and died shortly after of disorders in the bowels.

As Abd al Kerreem was so dangerously ill as to be pronounced past recovery, Dilleer Khan negotiated a peace between him, Seedee Mufaoood, and the other Dekkan chiefs, bringing them together for a conference. Mutual civilities and visits were exchanged between the chiefs of both armies, and it was agreed that Abd al Kerreem should deliver up the citadel of Beejapore to Seedee Mufaoood, who should then pay off the arrears to all the troops. Abd al Kerreem soon after died, and Dilleer Khan delivered up his son Abd al Raooff for education to Seedee Mufaoood, who promised to

to let him succeed his father in the command of the army. The Dekkanees then returned to Beejapore, where Seedee Mufaoood delayed to pay the arrears of Abd al Kerreem's troops, and they offered numberless indignities to his son, who had inherited but little property from his father. The soldiers proceeded to such extremities and clamour for their pay, as to seize every thing he had, not excepting even the jewels and ornaments of the women, which they forced from them without regard to common respect and decency for the honour of their chief. While the young man was thus used by his own tribe, the treatment he experienced from strangers may easily be imagined. Dilleer Khan returned with his army to the imperial provinces, thus ending, without any advantage, a very expensive and disgraceful campaign.

Khan Jehaun Bahadur on his arrival at court, not finding himself treated so graciously as usual, absented himself from the durbar, and resigned his rank and commands; upon which Aurungzebe observed, that he had no occasion for pomp, and commanded him to resign his equipage and train. Accordingly, the khan made an offering of his elephants, horses, and other ensigns of dignity, to the emperor, who, however, after some time, was graciously pleased to recall him to the presence, and restore him to all his honours. Raja Jeffwunt Sing Bondela, son of the late raja Inder Mun, joined the army in Dekkan with a force befitting his rank.

Dilleer Khan receiving information that the Mharattas had appeared near Zuffirabad Bieder, having left his baggage at Porundeh with Soopkerrun Bondela, marched to pursue them; and having defeated them and cleared the country, returned to pass the rains at Bahadur Ghur. Intelligence arrived that Sewajee had detached a force against the fort of Joneer. Abd al Yezzeez Khan, the governor, was a person of much experience and gallantry. Three hundred of the enemy in the night ascended the walls by rope lad-

A. H. 1091.
A. D. 1680.

ders, and entered; but though the kelladaar had sent most of his people with his sons to the assistance of Yiah Khan, fojedaur of the town, he bravely collected the few he had left, with his servants, and put most of the assailants to the sword. A few were found the next day skulking under the bushes and stones at the bottom of the wall, watching for an opportunity to escape. These he treated with much kindness, and sent them back to Sewajee, with a message, that while he commanded in the fort, he defied him to take it.

As the emperor was much dissatisfied at the late behaviour of the Afghaun chiefs, Jumlat al Moolk Affud Khan was ordered to command in Dekkan, until the appointment of another soubahdar. The prince Mahummud Mauzim shortly after was invested with the government, and a firmaun came to Dilleer Khan, enquiring, as Abd al Kerreem had died, the Afghauns were dispersed, and dissensions occurred among the Dekkanees, why he had delivered up Beejapore to Seedee Musaood? He was ordered to collect the Afghauns, and enroll them in the imperial service; also to draw over to him the officers of Beejapore and Hyderabad, till such time as jaghires could be bestowed, allowing each horseman daily pay from the royal treasury, and to march immediately against Beejapore.

Dilleer Khan, agreeably to these instructions, having invited the relations of Abd al Kerreem and other Afghaun chiefs, Syed Lutteef and Eefah Ghulzee, Dekkanees of Beejapore and Hyderabad, recommended proportionate rank for each; and for such horses as they brought, which amounted to about twenty thousand, he allowed daily pay. Many chiefs received jaghires, and were recommended by Dilleer Khan for titles of nobility. Dilleer Khan's nephew was raised to the rank of a thousand, and came to Dekkan; where, except the Afghauns, none were now esteemed worthy of distinction. On

On the breaking up of the rains, Dilleer Khan marched from Bahadur Ghur. Sambah, the son of Sewajee, who had quarrelled with his father, and was confined by him in the fort of Pernalleh, having made his escape with a few attendants, sent a messenger to Dilleer Khan, requesting his protection, and that he would send a force to assist him, as Sewajee's troops were following him closely. Dilleer Khan immediately dispatched Akhlaas Khan, with Ghierut Khan, his own nephew, and other chiefs, with a proper force, and followed himself. Sambah having met Akhlaas Khan at Kerkum Deoce, joined Dilleer Khan with a few of his family; and the khan, regarding his coming as a most favourable occurrence, beat the march of victory, and represented it to the imperial court, from whence Sambah was shortly after honoured with the title of raja, the rank of seven thousand, and a present of an elephant. Dilleer Khan made him many presents himself, and appointed a residence for his family, with a proper guard, at Bahadur Ghur.

Dilleer Khan remained the rest of this year at Illoje, preparing for the expedition against Beejapore. Soopkerrun Bondela being dangerously ill, left his son Dulput Roy and his followers with the army, and retired to Bahadur Ghur.

In the beginning of this year, Dilleer Khan marched against Bhopaul Ghur, a fort belonging to Sewajee in the Beejapore country. Cannon being planted upon a height which commanded the inner part of the place, it was taken in three hours, and a vast quantity of grain found in store, part of which was delivered to the troops, much taken by the camp followers, and the remainder set on fire; after which the fort was razed to the ground. A. H. 1092.
A. D. 1681.

The same day the Mharattas appeared, intending to succour the place, and an action ensued, in which they were defeated and fled. The same body, a few days afterwards, suddenly attacked and

plundered a detachment sent to collect supplies for the army, under the command of Eeruch Khan, who took shelter in a small fort, leaving his people and baggage to shift for themselves. Dilleer Khan waited on the banks of the Beemrah for some necessary stores, and to cross his cannon, the river being flooded.

Soopkerrun Bondela, an ameer of two thousand five hundred, died in his fifty third year, at Bahadur Ghur, and was much lamented by all. Many of his women burned themselves upon the funeral pile with his corpse. He was a soldier unequalled, had in repeated battles won the prize of valour, and was in general successful. He often remarked, that he had escaped with life from many dangers; and that in the day of battle a soldier should never think of himself; for whatever the Almighty had decreed would happen of course. He also said there were two days in which a person should not fear death, on that on which providence had decreed it should not happen, and that on which it had decreed it should. He was bountiful to his friends, and unanxious for his own fortune. Dilleer Khan and all the amras condoled with his son Dulput Roy, who was recommended to court, and exalted to the rank of five hundred. Soopkerrun always kept a numerous and gallant body of men in his service, by paying whom munificently he was never rich, and though his son Dulput Roy was raised but to a trifling rank, yet, regarding his future prospects, he encouraged all his father's followers, and retained them in his own service.

Secunder Adil Shaw now represented to Aurungzebe, that he esteemed himself as one of his ancient slaves, and notwithstanding Dilleer Khan was advancing to invade his country, if the emperor would permit one of his sons to marry his sister, he should regard it as an honour. This met with the royal approbation, and, accordingly, Secunder sent the young princess with much pomp, conducted by the physician Shumse ad Dien to court, and Dilleer Khan

Khan supplied him with a proper escort ; but, notwithstanding this, he advanced to Beejapore, which, although he had twenty thousand horse with him, he was not able to blockade. On one side he kept up a constant cannonade, and ruined a canal made by the first Adil Shaw, which flowed by the citadel and the great mosque, through the city. The enemy made a sally from the town, and pressed hard on Syed Lutteef, but Dulput Roy being sent to his assistance, he repelled the assailants, and took their standard. At this time, the conduct of Dilleer Khan not being approved of by Aurungzebe, he recalled him to the presence ; and the prince Mahummud Mauzim also being removed from the government, Khan Jehaun Bahadur was a second time appointed to the soubahdaree of Dekkan. Dilleer Khan, upon this, raised the siege of Beejapore, and plundered the country all around it, digging up and totally destroying the magnificent gardens in the environs of the city. Sewajee's messengers were allowed communication with Sambah, who now made his escape with only eleven attendants ; so that it must have happened by the connivance of Dilleer Khan, who made no enquiries or example among the guards who watched his person. Dilleer Khan next attacked the town of Sunker, near Beejapore, and having battered down the walls with his cannon, the troops entered, and began to plunder ; but the inhabitants, after a desperate skirmish, drove them off again with very great loss, when Dilleer Khan evacuated the country.

This year died the Maharaja Jeffwunt Sing, near Cabul ; and his followers brought his infant children, and his women who did not burn with him, towards their native country. Orders were sent to conduct them to court, where on their arrival, Aurungzebe insisted on the children being made Mahummedans. Upon this the Raajepoote attendants, determining to die rather than submit to this order, fled with their charge towards the raja's territories, and being hotly pursued by the emperor's troops, fought valiantly, and

and were mostly cut to pieces, but the women and infants arrived safely at Jodepore. After this, the courtiers brought a young child to his majesty, and pretended he was the maharaja's son; which the emperor feigning to believe, had him circumcised, named Mahummedee Rauje, and educated as such. The emperor, displeased at the resistance of the Raajepootes to his commands, marched to expel the sons and relations of the late raja from Jodepore; which fort soon fell into his hands, and raja Ajeet Sing, with the family, took shelter in the recesses of the mountains and woods. Inder Sing was exalted to the rank of three thousand, and the possession of the rauje; but as the dependants of the late prince and the people could not be prevailed upon to pay him a proper obedience, and the country remained long in an unsettled state, he was degraded and deposed.

Sewajee having marched from his country to invade the imperial territories, totally laid waste the district of Jalneher and others; and his soldiers, notwithstanding his commands to the contrary, offered insults to the servants of Jaun Mahummud, a religious, from whose curses it was believed Sewajee was taken ill, and shortly after died.* Sewajee was as a soldier unequalled, skilled in the arts of government, and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He planned his schemes wisely, and executed them with steadiness. He consulted many on every point, but acted according to that advice, which, after weighing in his own mind, he thought best applicable to his designs. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but by

* The Mharatta report is, that he was poisoned by his wife Soorabaye, who could not procure his consent for her son Rama to succeed him. Sewajee in this last expedition was defeated, and hotly pursued by the Mogul general, Runmust Khan. Nearly at the same time, his fleet was almost destroyed by the Siddees, in conjunction with the English of Bombay. It is probable, therefore, that he died neither by poison, nor the visitation of God at the prayers of a devotee, but rather, by an illness from fatigue in his flight, and vexation at the ill success of his arms.

by the success of their execution. He built palaces and erected fortifications in every part of his country; and it seemed as if he had the art of seeing all hidden treasures, for wherever his people were sent to make war, he directed them to spots where valuables were buried, as if he had laid them there himself. He kept forty thousand horses in his stables, which he had mounted to action by soldiers named bargeers. Every ten horses had one taweeldaur, who had the care of feeding them, as also one water carrier, and a torch bearer; each hundred had an officer over the ten taweeldaus; and every thousand a chief, who commanded the other ten. Wherever he sent five or six thousand, a chief of consequence commanded on the service. He also entertained men who had their own horses; but the Mharattas, who had most pay, were bargeers. When he detached an army on service, he supplied his bargeers with clothing and arms; and after the plunder of a country, whatever remained in their hands above their amount, was carried to the account of his treasury. He had numberless informers about his troops; so that if they kept back any money or goods from account, he forced them to give them up.

* Sambah, or Sambajee, who succeeded his father in the rauje, generally spent his time in female pleasures and excessive drinking, and possessed no talents for government. He pursued such a line of conduct as disoblinded his father's servants, and in a short time dissipated in vanity the treasures Sewajee had amassed. He listened to the advice of no one, having a conceited opinion of his own abilities, and chose for his favourite, Kubkulluss, a bramin, with whom he acted such scenes as made him hateful to the world.

Asker

* The partizans of Rama endeavoured to oppose the succession of Sambah, but were soon overcome, and Rama put into confinement. Soorabaye, in despair at the fate of her son, put herself to death.

Asker Khan Bukhsbi and Dulput Roy, with Serafrauz Khan and other amras, having obtained leave from Dilleer Khan, went to meet Khan Jehaun. Dilleer Khan marched to escort his women from Bahadur Ghur, and prepare for his journey to the presence. Khan Jehaun having arrived, after an interview with the prince Mahummud Mauzim, dispatched an escort with him to court, agreeably to orders, and then halted for the rainy season near the fort of Aoont. After the rains, the Mharattas having entered the imperial territories, Khan Jehaun marched along the banks of the Gung on the road to Loehghur, which had been destroyed by Khan Dowraun; and moving through the pass of Ferdapore, ten cofs from Aurungabad, ascended the mountains of Kunneher, through a most uneven road, covered with wood; so that the troops met with great difficulties, and were two days and nights without their tents and baggage, distressed for water and provisions. At length he encamped near the tomb of shekh Fereed, thirty cofs from Aurungabad. At this city died Raow Bhaow Sing Harrah, and many of his women sacrificed themselves on his funeral pile. As he had no son, his nephew was sent for, agreeably to the imperial orders by the prince Mahummud Akber, to Oojein, where he was stabbed in the wardrobe as he was putting on a dress of honour, given upon his investiture in the zemindaree of his uncle. This was supposed to have been done by the emperor's command. Raja Anoop Sing Rhatoree was left in charge of Aurungabad, and Khan Jehaun detached Raow Dulput in pursuit of the Mharattas.

A. H. 1094. The beginning of this year, when Khan Jehaun was encamped
 A. D. 1682. at Babilgaum, sixteen cofs from Aurungabad, intelligence was brought one morning, about four o'clock, that the Mharattas, by the route of Ahmednuggur and Moorgee Puttun, were advancing rapidly towards Aurungabad. He issued orders of march instantly, and having secured his baggage, left a force to protect it; then moving from the ground with all expedition, reached the city about noon;

noon; which, if he had not arrived that day, must inevitably have been plundered. Accounts were now brought that the enemy were seen in great numbers at Kasee Porah and the Hill of Sitterrah; also, that raja Anoop Sing, with his followers, was drawn up in his quarters, but durst not venture to advance; upon which Khan Jehaun marched on with all possible speed, and upon his appearance the enemy fled without daring to engage, when he encamped at the tank of Maharaja Jeffwunt Sing. The inhabitants of the city had been much alarmed, and shut up their houses, the doors of which they had barricadoed, and prepared for defence. Khan Jehaun, as the rains were now setting in, took up his residence in the imperial palace; and an order having arrived from court for the purpose, began to erect a wall round the city, in order to prevent any sudden attack from an enemy.

Intelligence arrived, that sultan Mahummud Akber, from the rashness of youth, and the intrigues of the Raajepootes, having rebelled, the emperor had marched with a few troops from Ajmeer to correct him. The prince had, without standing a battle, fled, with Darruk Dafs Rhatoree, towards Dekkan. Khan Jehaun, upon this intelligence, marched from the city at twelve o'clock at night, and on the road received a letter from the fojedaur of Bug-gellana, informing him, that Akber had gone by that way to Gool-shunabad, and the khan, on his arrival there, found that he had only one day before passed and entered Kokun by the road of Ter-rung; upon which, being disappointed of overtaking the fugitives, he retreated to Aurungabad, and dispatched the news to court: but it was afterwards represented, that Khan Jehaun was negligent in the pursuit, and might have taken the prince, if he had chosen. Sambah, esteeming Akber's coming as a fortunate circumstance, received him with the respect due to his rank, and gave him a suitable residence near the fort of Khulna, on the sea coast. He appointed extensive hunting grounds for his amusement, presented

him daily with money to pay six hundred cavalry, his followers, and once a week, regularly, visited him, always observing a proper deference to his dignity, as one of the imperial princes.

Dulput Roy, who had been detached to punish the Mharattas, returned after his campaign to Aurungabad, when an extraordinary and dangerous affair occurred to him. It appeared that a servant of Sambah's, having taken a house in Begum Porah, secretly levied soldiers and bought arms for the service of the rebel prince. This intelligence was conveyed to Khan Jehaun, who dispatched a guard to seize the accused person; and it happened that, Dulput Roy passing at the time, he ran through the crowd of his attendants, and got clear off. Khan Jehaun's people avowed that they had taken the man, and that the roy's followers had seized him from them by force; upon which the khan sent to demand him of the roy; but he, who had not the least knowledge of the affair, went to Khan Jehaun, and related his innocence of the charge. Khan Jehaun still relying on the declaration of his own people, was offended; and the roy, finding argument of no avail, left him in a passion. Two days afterwards, the khan determined to send a force to search for the offender; but all the Bondelas in the city, hearing of his intentions, joined Dulput Roy, who resolved to oppose such indignity; upon which Khan Jehaun desisted: but being exceedingly enraged, represented the affair to court, as did also Dulput Roy. The emperor graciously observed, on hearing both sides of the question, that the roy was an ancient imperial servant, incapable of such treacherous behaviour, and ordered him to join the prince Mahummud Mauzim, who was again appointed to govern in Dekkan.

Khan Jehaun, at the breaking up of the rains, marched to Bahadur Ghur, and the prince arrived at Aurungabad. Houshun Ali Khan was detached with an army for the punishment of the Mharattas

Mharattas and conquest of Kokun, and Dulput Roy ordered along with him. Many severe engagements were fought in this expedition, in which the roy performed signal services. Jadoo Roy Dekkanee, an ameer of three thousand, was killed, and Jagdeo Roy, his grandson, promoted to his rank. Khan Jehaun, leaving his baggage at Bahadur Ghur, pursued the enemy whenever he heard of their entering the royal territories.

In the beginning of this year, Houffun Ali was detached for the punishment of the Mharattas by the way of Porundeh. Kishen Sing, the grandson of the late Mirza Raja Jey Sing Sewai, who, throwing aside the manners of the Raajepootes, imitated those of the Moguls, was killed in a drunken quarrel for a dancing girl, near Porundeh, by an Afghaun. This year Aurungzebe resolved to extirpate Sambajee, and began his march from Ajmeer towards Dekkan. Dulput Roy was promoted to the rank of six hundred by the royal favour.

A. H. 1095.
A. D. 1683.

The emperor, after remaining some time at Boorahanpore, moved with a vast army into Dekkan, and arrived at Aurungabad. The prince Mahummud Mauzim Shaw, with Dilleer Khan Afghaun, was detached to Ahmednuggur. Shaub ad Dien Khan, son of Koollich Khan, suddur al suddoor, with Dulput Roy, and other imperial officers, were ordered to besiege the fort of Ramsudje, five coss from Goolshunabad. Having began their approaches, they erected upon an eminence near the walls a platform of wood, or cavalier, which could contain five hundred men, and was raised story upon story to such a height, that the soldiers at the top could fire musquetry at the besieged within the walls, so as to prevent them daring to shew their heads from under cover. Intelligence being brought to Aurungzebe, that Sambajee's army had marched to raise the siege, Khan Jehaun was ordered to canton at Goolshunabad, in order to be ready to succour the assailants in case of necessity; and he accordingly marched from Bahadur Ghur. Khan

A. H. 1096.
A. D. 1684.

Jehaun leaving his army, went to pay his respects to the emperor at Aurungabad, taking with him Runmust Khan, who, at his request, was promoted to the title of Bahadur Khan, and sent with a detachment against Kokun. Shaub ad Dien Khan was ordered to the vicinity of Joneer, where the enemy were committing depredations, and Khan Jehaun to command the siege of Ramsudje, upon which place an unsuccessful assault was made some time after, and Dulput Roy, with many others, wounded. Dulput was promoted to the rank of seven hundred. Mahummud Moraud was honoured with the title of khan, and the office of second bukhshi in addition to the other posts which he held in Khan Jehaun's army. Bahadur Khan Runmust marched towards Kokun, and represented to the emperor, that if Khan Jehaun should be stationed at the pass of Mhajah, he could then invade the country. Another assault was made upon the fort of Ramsudje, but it proved unsuccessful; upon which the siege was raised, and the great platform of wood built by Shaub ad Dien at an immense expense, being filled with combustibles, was set on fire and destroyed. The besieged upbraided the troops with cowardice as they retreated, calling out to them to stop and cover themselves with the ashes of their battery.

Bahadur Khan entered Kokun by the pass of Mhajah; and as the incursions of the enemy were daring near Goolshunabad, Khan Jehaun moved towards that town, upon which the enemy took to flight; when leaving his baggage to the charge of Maha Sing Bhadoreah, fojedaur of the place, he pursued the fugitives. Orders were issued to Khan Jehaun to join the prince Moiz ad Dien, eldest son of the prince Mahummud Mauzim Shaw Aulum, who had marched for the punishment of the enemy. Accordingly, having ordered his baggage from Goolshunabad, he joined the prince near Rampore, on the banks of the Gung, sixteen coss from Aurungabad. The prince did him the honour to alight from his horse at their meeting, and embrace him; at hearing which the emperor was
displeased,

displeased, and angrily enquired of Shaw Aulum, why his son had condescended so far from his dignity. The prince replied, that the emperor Jehaungeer had deigned to honour by the like favour Mortiza Khan, after his defeating sultan Khooseroo.

The prince Moiz ad Dien, after halting some days in the vicinity of Nabudter, marched to Zuffirabad Bieder; where, on the day of his arrival, intelligence was brought him, that the imperial elephants and those of Shaw Aulum, which had been sent to fodder at Patterree Bacherra, were just attacked by a body of the enemy. Khan Jehaun, instantly leaving the prince with the baggage at the fort of Bieder, marched; and hearing on the route that the elephants were carried off, he quitted the little baggage he then had with him, and moved night and day with redoubled speed after the Mharattas, who fled at his appearance, and he recovered the elephants, except a few that were swiftest of foot, which the enemy had sent on before them. He did not desist from the pursuit, but leaving what he had recovered in charge of the fojedours of the districts, marched on, and near the borders of Terk Chandeh recovered the remainder from the Mharattas; after which he returned to within four coss of Zuffirabad, and sending for his baggage, encamped on the banks of the tank of Kamseaneh. The troops in this march experienced numerous hardships, and even Khan Jehaun was without his tent and proper provisions. Numbers of the soldiers fell behind, fatigued, at every place on the route, and were not able to join for some time after.

His majesty being displeased with the conduct of Mahummud Azim Shaw, who had been sent to Ahmednuggur, he was ordered to the presence with Dilleer Khan; but he delayed his departure, and did not move to court until after repeated commands; upon which Dilleer Khan incurred the royal displeasure. On the way, a furious elephant broke through the ranks, and ran towards the prince's

prince's palanquin, but was luckily put to death without hurting his person. The prince Shaw Aulum was ordered with an army into Kokun, to reduce the Mharatta fortresses on the sea coast. A plague, which had seldom happened either in Dekkan or Khandeshe, occurred this year in both countries, and carried off such numbers, that many large towns were depopulated.

A. H. 1097.

A. D. 1685.

The prince Mahummud Moiz ad Dien attended his father, Shaw Aulum, to Kokun, which he entered by the way of Ramdirrah; but the country in that part being but thinly cultivated, supplies of provisions soon grew short, upon which the prince moved to the sea coast, and the emperor issued orders for provisions to be conveyed by shipping to Dunda Rajapore, near Bombay, but they could not bring sufficient, and famine prevailing in the prince's camp, numbers died through mere want of food. Khan Jehaun moved from the tank of Kamseaneh to Buggulkote, where he halted for some time, and then went against the fort of Mulluknehur, of little strength, which he carried by storm in two days. Himnut Khan and Raja Jesswunt Sing Bondela headed the assault. Khan Jehaun at the approach of the rainy season, having cantoned his army at Bukkrum Bullee, twelve coss from Zuffirabad, went himself to reside at Koolburga. Juggut Sing, son of Mukkund Sing Harrah, an ameer of two thousand, died, and, as he had no son, his country was given to his uncle's son Kishoor Sing. Shaub ad Dien Khan and Raow Dulput Sing, having entered Kokun, had an action with Sambah at Nizampore, and having defeated him, plundered the place of his residence; in reward for which service, the emperor conferred on the former the title of Ghazi ad Dien Khan Bahadur, and promoted the latter to the munsub of one thousand, calling them to his presence; after which he detached them against the fort of Joneer.

Dilleer

Dilleer Khan Afghaun, an ameer of five thousand, who had won the prize of military fame and conduct from all the cotemporary nobles, and fully understood the modes and policy of Dekkan, where in his operations he was generally victorious; upon seeing new amras preferred by the emperor over his head, and that what he represented out of duty was but little attended to, grew weary of the world, and died from vexation and disappointment. In the time of his youth he had a remarkable appetite and strength of body, and in his old age was blessed with good health. Upon his death the emperor confiscated his fortune, which he supposed immense; but it not answering his expectations, he confined Peere Mahummud, his secretary, in order to investigate the cause, who would not inform, though put to the torture. At length he was released.

The prince Shaw Aulum had represented repeatedly to the emperor, that from the inclemency of the air in Kokun, a plague had broke out in his camp, which destroyed great numbers, and the distress for provisions was excessive; upon which a fresh army, under Roh Oollah Khan, was dispatched to escort the prince to court. Aurungzebe marched from Aurungabad with the grand camp to Ahmednuggur. Khan Jehaun, who had pursued a body of the enemy to Sangoulah, met Roh Oollah Khan on his march, and they accompanied each other as far as Ramdirrah. Khan Jehaun afterwards encamped, by the imperial commands, near the town of Annunderee, only seventeen coss from Beejapore. The prince Shaw Aulum returned through the pass of Ramdirrah in his way to court. Most of his cavalry had lost their horses, and the greatest part of the army were on foot for want of conveyance, as the Mharattas, with the sickness and famine, had made the greatest havock among them. Khan Jehaun paid his respects, and, having supplied the prince with all necessaries, took his leave; then post-
ing

A. H. 1098.
A. D. 1686.

ing a detachment in charge of Annunderee, cantoned his army, according to orders from the emperor, at Almillah.

Several of the amras attendant on the court, on account of the waste of their jaghires in the foubahs of Dekkan, now received salaries in lieu; and the great officers, who from the same cause also were become distressed, opened their hands to the receipt of bribes, notwithstanding the positive injunctions of the emperor to the contrary; they also extorted money, under the pretence of fees for forwarding the views of expectants at court; so that the imperial service now became but of little advantage, except to the civil officers of high rank, and their greedy deputies.

Serdar Khan, an Afghaun munsubdar, hired a number of banditti, and made a practice of sending them to rob; but being soon detected, he was punished with death, and his effects confiscated.

A. D. 1099.
A. D. 1687.

Khan Jehaun having quitted his cantonments at Almillah, encamped on the banks of the Beemrah, and detached Sippedar Khan and Dilleer Himmut towards Koolburga to punish the Pinderras; which having done, they returned. Orders arrived to station Dilleer Himmut again near Koolburga, to prevent them from crossing the Beemrah; but he died soon after his march, and was succeeded in command by Jaun Niffaur Khan, son of Collinder Khan.

Orders were sent to Khan Jehaun to march to Ruffoolpore, and stop the communication with Beejapore on that quarter, while Roh Oollah Khan blocked it up on the side of Shawpore: but, prior to the arrival of these instructions, Roh Oollah Khan had encamped at Ruffoolpore, and Khan Jehaun at Taktannah; so that they met together, and, upon the arrival of a farther order, the latter encamped at Shawpore.

As

As the emperor had determined to attack Hyderabad and Beejapore, he moved with the grand camp from Ahmednuggur to Sholapore, and appointed fyed Zein-al-abid-Dien kelladaar of the former city. The enemy, suddenly collecting, attempted a surprize; but the fyed, being timely advised, was on his guard, and defeated their enterprize. Ghazi ad Dien Khan, being recalled from Joneer, was sent to protect Ahmednuggur, and Dulput Roy was now promoted to the rank of one thousand three hundred.

Khan Jehaun was now ordered to Hyderabad, and Roh Oollah Khan to march for the siege of Beejapore, where the prince Shaw Azim was also sent with a powerful army. The king of Hyderabad hearing of Khan Jehaun's approach, sent Mahummud Ibrahim, the chief of his nobility, to oppose him with seventy thousand horse. Skirmishes occurred between them for many days; but as Khan Jehaun had but a small force compared with the enemy's, he durst not hazard a general engagement; therefore, having thrown up entrenchments round his camp, he communicated his situation to the emperor. The prince Shaw Aulum was dispatched with a reinforcement to his assistance, and orders given for Beheramund Khan and Eaticaud Khan to attend him part of the way. The prince having reached Mulkneher, put his baggage under charge of Jaun Niffaur Khan, and marched with his troops in order of battle towards the entrenchments of Khan Jehaun. The Hyderabadeans made a charge in different quarters, but in vain; and in the evening the prince joined the camp, where it had rained so hard, that it was impossible to pitch the great tents; and the prince, with his wives, was obliged to put up with a very small one. Khan Jehaun, who was situated conveniently, sent dressed provisions for his family and all the amras who attended him. After three days, the prince and Khan Jehaun advanced; and, as is the custom with the Dekkan troops, the Hyderabad army made false attacks on all sides of the line. This continued for four days, after which Beheramund Khan

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and Eaticaud Khan returned to the presence. Orders arrived that the treasury officers of Khan Jehaun's army should also act as such to the prince. Eeruch Khan, an ameer of two thousand five hundred, an excellent officer, of great experience, was much in the esteem of Khan Jehaun, who always placed him near his own person in the field. During this march, Eeruch Khan's elephant, frightened at the noise of a rocket, ran away. The driver used every endeavour to turn him, but in vain; so that the khan was taken prisoner, but died shortly after. He was much regretted by his followers, who were all treated by him as brethren. The khan was generous, not only to his friends, but to all, being ever ready to serve a petitioner; so that his good name was universal. He excelled most of the greater amras in the elegant stile of his living, and entertained servants of the first abilities, to whom he allowed high pay. His table was always richly and plentifully provided; and whenever either acquaintance or travellers passed near his residence, he furnished them amply with all necessaries, treating all with that attention due to their quality. If a merchant came to him from Persia, or any other distant part, he generally kept him with him some days, bought his whole cargo, and dismissed him with many favours. His mind was truly noble, and he died universally lamented. Himmut Khan Bahadur, Raja Jeffwunt Sing Bondela, with the commander of artillery, Aga Ali Khan Roomee, making a charge upon a large body of the enemy, who were crossing a long swamp of rice fields, two of their principal officers were taken prisoners by the raja's followers. The same day, Mahummud Ibrahim, who commanded the Hyderabad army, fled unexpectedly to the city; and from that day the enemy's forces disappeared altogether, and the royal army pursued their route close to Hyderabad by repeated marches. The Dekkanees accused Mahummud Ibrahim of treachery, exclaiming, that if he had done his duty, the imperial troops could never have advanced.

The

The king, not thinking it safe to remain longer in the city, shut himself up in the fort of Golconda, though Madna Pundit, his prime minister, earnestly entreated him to the contrary; observing, that it would be better to retire to Warunkul, or some other fort, from whence he might with ease succour Golconda, in case the imperial troops should sit down before it; whereas he would, by shutting himself up in it, be totally cut off from resources. Abou Houffun would not listen to this reasonable advice, and thus closed upon himself the gates of adversity.

Mahummud Ibrahim, the general, consulting his own interests, came over to Khan Jehaun, and was introduced by him to the prince, who received him graciously, and recommended him for promotion in the imperial service. Akka Ali was sent to guard the city of Hyderabad, and assure the inhabitants of protection; but most of those who were able to procure conveyance for their families and effects, had retired into the fort of Golconda, while the remainder stayed terrified in their houses, expecting their fate. The next day the prince sent his own followers to guard the city, but they extended their hands to plunder. The house of Madna Pundit, the minister, was robbed of goods beyond all account, and stripped even to the frames of the doors and windows. So many new tents were found in it, that, immediately after, an old one was not to be seen in the prince's camp. The king's palace was also plundered in a great degree; but, after two days, the charge was given to Khan Jehaun, who restored order, and collected some property for the emperor's account; but if all the plunder had been thus taken care of, it would have amounted to an immense value. Though the emperor repeatedly wrote, that when he had plundered this city, before his accession to the throne, large sums were found in the ceilings of apartments, and insisted on all being preserved for his use with the utmost rigour, yet no one regarded the imperial order, and many of the first houses were plundered by the troops.

Mahummud Ibrahim being one of the creatures of Madna Pundit, that minister was suspected of having persuaded him to go over to the imperial army, and of intending to follow himself. It was said that the reason of his advising the king not to take refuge in Golconda, was, that he might have an opportunity of betraying him into the emperor's hands. Abou Houffun had, on appointing Madna Pundit prime minister, taken a solemn oath, that he would not attend to what any persons might say against him, and therefore he did not listen to these insinuations: but the officers, who hated Madna, at the instigation of the king's mother in law, widow of the late sultan, assassinated him as he was going into the king's presence, and cutting off his head sent it to the prince Shaw Aulum, with a message, importing, that it had belonged to him, to whom only, all the insolence and disrespect shewn to the emperor was owing, for which he had at last met his deserts.

Abou Houffun, who had committed to Madna all his power, and contented himself with the pageantry of royalty, being by his death left without an adviser on whom he could rely, immediately made requests for peace, and promises of a very valuable offering.

The prince Shaw Aulum now moved his quarters into an extensive garden near the fort, where Abou Houffun had built a splendid palace, in which the prince took up his own residence. When the news of the fall of Hyderabad reached the emperor, as a mark of his favour he sent jewels, elephants, horses and dresses for Shaw Aulum and the amras, under the care of Abd al Kerreem, keeper of the oratory, and other chiefs; who upon their arrival at Momin Putteah, not far from the city, were surprized, plundered, and taken prisoners, by shekh Munnaje and the Afghans in the service of Abou Houffun, not a man escaping without a wound. The prince Shaw Aulum upon this disaster, sent a message to Abou Houffun, threatening

threatening to stop the negotiations for peace, and take ample vengeance for such atrocious insults and breach of the truce.

Abou Houffun made numberless excuses, declared that the attack was not made by his orders, and that he had not the smallest knowledge of it. He collected the plundered effects with much care, and sent them with the wounded prisoners to the prince, promising, if he would grant him peace, to make an offering of * two corores of rupees in treasure and effects, which he would collect and pay, whenever the prince should move from the city to Koehr.

Shaw Aulum forwarded his petition to court, and it meeting with the emperor's approbation, Momin Khan was left to receive the money, and the prince retreated. Aurungzebe was displeased at the great force his son and Khan Jehaun kept about their persons, and the plunder of the city and the king's palace not being accounted for in the royal treasury. Calling Khan Jehaun to the presence, he sent him to the government of Lahore, and dispatched Syef Oollah Khan to order Kullich Khan, suddur al suddoor, Himmut Khan, Mamoor Khan, and several other amras, to quit the prince immediately, and return to court. Ibrahim Khan, the Hyderabad general, was promoted to the title of Mahabut Khan and rank of six thousand. The prince was ordered to remain at Koehr, till the sums should be paid agreeably to the treaty of peace with Abou Houffun.

The army against Beejapore under the prince Azim Shaw had repeated actions with the enemy. Amaun Oollah Khan, son of Aliverdi Khan, and other Dekkan amras, were killed, and Kishoor Sing Harrah and others wounded. The communication between this army and the imperial camp at Sholapore being cut off by the enemy's

* Two millions sterling.

enemy's horse, an extreme scarcity of grain prevailed; so that a seer of rice sold for eleven rupees, and at even this exorbitant price was procured with the greatest difficulty. Ghazi ad Dien Khan, with Dulput Roy Bondela and others, were dispatched from Ahmednuggur to escort provisions, stores, and a large sum of money to the prince. About five coss from camp they were attacked by the enemy's army. The khan taking charge of the convoy, Dulput Roy, Mujahid Khan, and other chiefs, received the enemy, and, after a severe engagement, defeated them, killing about four thousand foot who could not escape the fury of the enraged Moguls and Raajepootes. The convoy arrived safely at the camp before Beejapore, and provisions again began to be cheap. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was honoured with the additional title of Feroze Jung, and Dulput Roy with that of raow, and the privilege of carrying the ^b allum in his train.

A. H. 1100.

A. D. 1688.

The emperor this year, at a fortunate instant, departed with the grand camp from Sholapore to the siege of Beejapore, and batteries were opened immediately upon his arrival before the place. The prince Akber, who had taken refuge with Sambah, by his instigation, supposing the imperial territories undefended by many troops, with Darruk Dafs and about ten thousand Mharattas made an incursion from Kokun towards Hindoostan; but the emperor, having advice of his intentions, had left Merhummut Khan at Ahmednuggur, who intercepted the rebel prince in the neighbourhood of Chakneh, and defeated him, after a very obstinate engagement; which put an end to his enterprize, and he retreated again to Sambah's country. Syed Leshkar Khan and other amras were left at Sholapore, to guard the heavy baggage of the army and furnish escorts for provisions to the imperial camp. Eaticaud Khan, son of Jumlat al Moolk Affud Khan, was detached with a force to observe

^a About two pounds.

^b A sort of pike.

observe the enemy's motions. Beejapore was now surrounded on all sides, and the different stations allotted to the amras. Syed Fatteh Ali Khan, reconnoitring too near the ditch, received the honour of martyrdom, and many of his followers were wounded. Many skirmishes occurred on the foraging parties, and the besieged daily made sallies from the town. Raow Dulput was wounded in one by an arrow. Syed Leshkar Khan was recalled from Sholapore, and the command given to Eaticaud Khan.

The siege of Beejapore still continued, and the besieged to oppose the approaches with great gallantry. The grand powder magazine, which was placed under ground in the camp, by some accident blew up with a dreadful explosion, which was heard for sixty miles. As the country round Beejapore had been long laid waste and uncultivated, supplies were cut off from the fort, and the besieged at length became exceedingly distressed for provisions. Every chance of succour was lost, and the soldiers became dissatisfied; but still, in this hopeless condition, they gallantly resisted. At length, several breaches being effected, the disposition of assault was made by Kouwaum ad Dien Khan, commander of the imperial artillery. The besieged, upon this, judged it safest to capitulate, and requested terms through Ghazi ad Dien Khan Feroze Jung; when it was settled, that the young king Secunder should pay his respects to the emperor, and his principal officers be exalted to munsubs. Feroze Jung sent Dulput Raow with a few followers into the fort to bring Secunder to his quarters, when he conducted him himself to the presence of Aurungzebe, by whom, after paying his compliments, he was allowed to sit. The emperor honoured him with the title of khan, bestowed upon him many favours, and allotted tents for his accommodation in the Ruggela Bar. Sheerza Khan was raised to the title of Rustum Khan, Abd al Raooff to that of Dilleer Khan, and both to munsubs of seven thousand. Seedeas Salim and Jumsheed were

A.H. 1101.
A.D. 1689.

were honoured with titles and the munsub of five thousand, and all the officers promoted according to their quality.

Aurangzebe passed to view the fort, through the breach by which the assault was intended to have been made, sitting on a travelling throne, and to the great mosque, where he offered up thanksgivings for his success. Syed Leshkar Khan was appointed governor of the citadel. Upon an astonishingly large piece of ordnance was engraved this inscription; "The prince Mahummud Ghazi, in splendour like the sun, under whose umbrella the world sought a shelter, by the force of his all-destroying sabre, in half the winking of an eye, took the ^a master of the field from Nizam Shaw." This cannon, most probably the largest ever known, was made by Roomi Khan, an officer of one of the Nizam Shaws, and fell into the hands of sultan Mahummud Beejaporee. The emperor ordered this inscription to be erased, and the following to be put in the stead: "Shaw Aulumgeer Ghazi, emperor of kings, who restored justice and conquered the sovereigns of Dekkan, reduced Beejapore. Good fortune on him daily smiled, and victory exclaimed, He hath subdued the master of the field." In this inscription is conveyed the date in which the fort surrendered. The city and environs of Beejapore are upon a fine plain without any declivities; the fort probably the largest in the world; and, between it and the city wall, convenient room for fifteen thousand horse to encamp. Within the citadel was the king's palace, the houses of the nobility, and large magazines, besides many extensive gardens; and round the whole a deep ditch, always well supplied with water. There were also without the city very large suburbs and noble palaces. Sultan Mhamood kept on foot one hundred and eighty thousand horse; and in the time of Ali Adil Shaw, when the Mirza Raja lay before Beejapore, that sultan had not less than eighty thousand. On the emperor's taking it,

^a The name of the cannon.

it, there were not more than two thousand horse within it. After this victory, the waters of the reservoirs and the wells in the fort decreased; the country round remained entirely waste for a great distance, and a considerable part of the rest was seized by the pinderrahs and zemindars, who acknowledged no superior. About a coss from the city stood once another vast town, which might be called a second Beejapore, named Norufs, and built by Ismaeel and Ibrahim Adil Shaw; but it was now quite depopulated, and ruined palaces only remaining, with a thick wall surrounding it, whose stately gateways were falling to decay.

Casim Khan was appointed fojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan with other amras sent to reduce the country round Hyderabad.

The prince Akber, finding nothing more to expect from Sambah, took his departure on board a ship, with a few attendants, for Persia, and Darruk Dafs returned to his own country of Marwar. Rustum Khan Beejaporee, who had been promoted to the rank of seven thousand, was detached towards the fort of Sittarra against the Mharattas, who attacked, defeated, and took him prisoner, but released him on his paying a very large sum of money.

Ghazi ad Dien Khan, and the amras under him, having entered the Hyderabad territories, laid waste all parts of it; and the emperor marching from Sholapore with intentions to besiege Golconda, on the way visited the forts of Tuldoorg and Koolburga, also the tomb of syed Mahummud Gesoo-derauz. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was detached to Goolshunabad to punish the Mharattas; and the emperor, having moved by the route of Zuffirabad Bieder, at length sat down before Golconda, and the siege was commenced. As Abou Houssun had escaped into the fort, Mahummud Moraud Khan, the resident at Hyderabad, incurred the royal
VOL. II. L displeasure

A. H. 1102.
A. D. 1690.

displeasure for having allowed him to do so, and was degraded from his munsub; but restored shortly after, at the intercession of Affud Khan. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was recalled to the presence. Shekh Nizam Hyderabaddee collected an army to relieve the fort, and Raow Dulput being sent against him, gave him a complete defeat. Orders were issued to attack a camp of the besieged which had taken shelter close to the ditch. This service was performed by Mujahid Khan, Kishoor Sing Harrah, Raow Dulput, and others, who plundered it. Kullich Khan, suddur al suddoor, going too close to the fort, was killed by a cannon shot. Skirmishes happened every day with the enemy, and it rained so continually, that the roads were rendered impassable; and grain became so scarce in the camp, that many of the followers died of hunger.

The emperor, from the representations of the spies about his person, entertaining suspicions of the loyalty of the prince Shaw Aulum, privately gave orders for a body of armed men to be drawn up in the grand audience tent; and sending for the prince with his sons, commanded Affud Khan to disarm and confine them. They were degraded from their ranks in the army, their effects seized, and treated with the same rigour as common criminals. An assault was made upon the fort by Ghazi ad Dien Khan, and his majesty went in person to the batteries to encourage the assailants; but they did not succeed, the enemy repulsing them with great gallantry.

At length, after a siege of seven months, Golconda fell by treachery. Abdoolla, a principal chief and favourite of Abou Houffun, who had been most active in the defence of the place, being gained over by bribes and assurances of high rank in the imperial service, admitted in the night a body of the Mogul troops, under the command of Roh Oollah Khan, into the fortress. The garrison, except a few who were soon overcome, laid down their arms; and the sultan Abou Houffun was escorted by the prince Azim Shaw to the

the emperor's tent. The date of this occurrence is included in the following lines: "Hyderabad was conquered by Aulumgeer, under the auspices of the Almighty, fighting for the true faith. He had the power of Jumsheed, and the wisdom of Alexander. His valiant heroes, with pious zeal, tore up infidelity and wickedness by the roots in Dekkan." Hyderabad was now named The Mansion of Zeal. Casim Khan was ordered to take charge of this part of Carnatic, until a *sojedaur* should be appointed. The Carnatics, now divided between Hyderabad and Beejapore, were formerly subject to the dynasty of Ramraaje Carnaticæ, once of great power and dominion, whose capital was Beejanuggur, situated fifty coss from the fortress of Adonee, and one hundred and seventy from Bieder; from which their dominions extended to the sea coast one way, on another to the river Kistnah, and some parts to the river Beemrah. They kept an army of thirty thousand horse, a million of infantry, and their wealth was beyond enumeration. The last Ramraaje attempting to conquer the territories of Adil Shaw Beejapore, Koottub Shaw Hyderabadee, and Nizam Shaw Dowlutabadee, the three sultans formed an alliance for their mutual security, and, having joined their forces, marched to the banks of the Kistnah, on the opposite side of which Ramraaje was encamped with an innumerable host. The allies crossed the river and attacked him. Adil Shaw was panic-struck, but his nobility and troops stood firm, and continued with their allies to charge the enemy. Ramraaje, priding himself on his vast superiority of numbers, had pitched a magnificent canopy, under which he sat upon a throne shining with jewels, to give orders to his troops; but when the army of the sultans broke in upon his line, he removed into a palanquin, the bearers of which, being much frightened, threw it down, and he was seized by Nizam Shaw's people, and brought prisoner to their sultan; who cut off his head and fixed it on the point of his spear. The enemy, upon seeing it, took to flight, and an immense treasure of money, jewels and effects, with two thou-

and elephants, fell into the hands of the victorious allies, who pursued the fugitives with great slaughter to the walls of Beejanuggur; from whence, after receiving a valuable contribution from the late raja's brother, they retreated, leaving him in possession of the government.

The imperial firmaun was sent to Mohib Ali, Abou Houffun's governor of Carnatic, who had been honoured with the title of Usker Khan and munsub of seven thousand, to prevent the people of the districts from dispersing; and a force was also appointed for their defence from the presence. Ismaeel, Ajeet Naire, and other Dekkan officers, with the zemindars, had plundered him, but dispersed on the arrival of Mukkerum Khan with the royal troops. Bam Naick, governor of Sunker, dependant upon Beejapore, having made his submissions to the emperor, delivered up the place; which was new named Nufferut Ghur. Raja Anoop Sing was honoured with the command, and the rank of five thousand, but died shortly after. Bam Naick and his son were promoted to the rank of three thousand; but they in a little time fled to Wakin Kerah, their native place, six coss from Nufferut Ghur, and raised disturbances. Mahummud Azim Shaw coming from Goolshunabad, paid his compliments at court. Shekh Nizam Hyderabaddee submitting, was honoured with the title of Khan Zummaun and munsub of five thousand. Meer Housseinee, a principal officer of Abou Houffun, being raised to the rank of six thousand and title of Ali Merdan Khan, was appointed to the fojedaury of Kinjee, dependant on Hyderabad Carnatic; and more nobles were created than had ever been in the reign of any former emperor. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was sent with a large army to besiege the fort of Adonee, and Raow Dulput who accompanied him, was promoted to the rank of two thousand one hundred. The khan upon his march took several forts belonging to Beejapore, and one of them, Heybut Kerrumna, was named Feroze Ghur. The fort of Kernole was

was called Kummernuggur. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was sent against Mullukgaum, belonging to Beejapore, which he took.

Jeffwunt Sing Bondela dying, the zemindary of Oorcha was conferred on Bugwunt Sing, his son, an infant of four years, with the title of raja. At this time an epidemical ague raged over all Dekkan, of which numbers died; as also a great scarcity of grain. Ghazi ad Dien Khan having for some time blocked up the fort of Adonee, Seedee Musafod delivered it up; and with his family going to the presence, was honoured with the title of khan and munsub of seven thousand. The emperor now moved from Hyderabad by the way of Koolburga to Beejapore. Khan Zummaun was appointed to the fojedaury of Kolapore, in the neighbourhood of Pernalleh. A pestilence broke out in the camp of Beejapore, raging to a great pitch, and many of the ladies of the haram died; upon which the emperor moved to Bahadur Ghur.

The spies of Khan Zummaun brought him intelligence, that Sambah was encamped near the fort of Kalneh, belonging to him, about fifteen coss from Pernalleh, in the passes to Kokun, entirely off his guard, immersed in debauchery and hard drinking. The khan marched immediately, and about daylight next morning surprised his camp. Sambah, intending to move, had sent off the greatest part of his attendants with his women on before him, and was waiting for Kubkullufs, his favourite, who was performing his devotions, when they were both taken prisoners. Khan Zummaun immediately informed the emperor of his success, who beat the march of victory, and dispatched Eaticaud Khan with a considerable army to besiege the fort of Rairee, which had been the capital of Sewajee and his successor.

Ghazi

Ghazi ad Dien Khan after the surrender of the fort of Adonee, came to encamp near Beejapore, where he was afflicted with the plague; from which he recovered, but with the total loss of eyesight. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was dispatched to Lolukowah, dependant on Joneer in Kokun, and the emperor moved to Tummerla, fourteen coss from Porundeh, with the grand camp.

A. H. 1103.

A. D. 1691.

The emperor moved to Bahadur Ghur, and Khan Zummaun having brought Sambah to court, orders were given to put wooden crowns upon the heads of him and his companions, and, mounting them upon camels, after the manner of criminals in Persia, to conduct them to the presence. The emperor gave thanks to God for having thus put his enemy in his power, and raised Khan Zummaun to a higher rank, with the title of Fatteh Jung. Sambah had a red hot iron drawn before his eyes; and some days after was, with his favourite Kubkullus, put to death. The emperor marched from Bahadur Ghur to Buggoreh Gaum, six coss from Poonah on the banks of the Beemrah.

Eaticaud Khan fought many successful battles in Kokun, and blocked up Rairee, so as to distress the inhabitants greatly. Sewajee's second son, Rama, after the capture of Sambah, fled with some principal chiefs to Seringapatam, and syed Abdoolla Khan Bareah was ordered to pursue him; but Rama, near a small fort, crossed the river, then very high, with two of his followers, and got clear off. About eighty chiefs took shelter in the fort, and falling into the khan's hands, he was ordered to keep them confined at Beejapore. Rama shut himself up in the fort of Jinjee. Wojeh ad Dien, the son of Syed Leshkar Khan, who commanded as his father's deputy in Beejapore, not attending strictly to his prisoners, they made their escape, by the connivance of his servants, and rejoining their brethren, soon raised disturbances. A few, who in
leaping

leaping from the walls had broken their limbs, were retaken under the prison, and secured.

Roh Oollah Khan, agreeably to the royal instructions, moved to Pernalleh, with an offer of terms to the inhabitants, but they would not deliver up the place; upon which he returned, and marched to punish the Mharattas round Rhamutpore, and the fort of Sittarra, in the country on the banks of the Kistnah, which is within the Beejapore boundaries. Orders were sent him to leave the army with Khan Zummaun, who had been dispatched to command it, and return to the presence.

Eaticaud Khan having taken Rairee, and Saooh, the infant son of Sambah, with his wives and those of Rama, was exalted by the title of Zoolfeccar Khan and the privilege of using the *maeh meratib, which he had taken belonging to Sambah. The infant Saooh was honoured with the title of raja, and a place within the Ruggelah Bar allotted for his residence. About this time preparations were made for sending off the heavy baggage to Aurungabad, and it was reported that the emperor would return to Agra or Dhely; but news arriving, that a Pinder chief, named Eeluck, having collected together a numerous rabble, had taken Ferofenuggur, Roh Oollah Khan was detached to that quarter, and all thoughts of moving to Aurungabad were laid aside. The khan marched with all speed, and Raow Dulput, who was then kella-daar of Adonee, hearing of the disturbance, sent Hafiz Morad Khan, a principal officer of his own, with a considerable force, who defeated the rebels; but, as he had no necessaries for a siege, he encamped at a little distance from the fort, where he was joined with a reinforcement and some cannon, under Summunder Khan, governor of Koolburga. Roh Oollah Khan commenced the siege immediately on his arrival.

Raja

* A standard, on the point of which is a gilt fish.

Raja Bugwunt Sing Bondela dying, there remained no one of the family of rajas Shujan Sing or Inder Sing to succeed him; upon which the rannee Amir Koor, grandmother to the deceased prince, placed in the raaje Oodut Sing, who was descended from Mudhoker Saw, father to Raja Ber Sing Deo, which was approved of by the emperor, who conferred on him the title of raja, and a suitable munsub.

When the emperor heard of Rama's being arrived at Jinjee, he immediately dispatched Zoolfeccar Khan to besiege that place. Roh Oollah Khan, having by stratagem forced Eeluck to leave Ferosenuggur, took possession of the place, and then pursued him to a great distance. Upon his flying near Hyderabad, he was seized by the fojedaur, and put to death.

Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived at Korumcundah, sixty coss from Jinjee, was attacked by a large army of the Mharattas, under Ismaeel Mukh, Ajeet Naire, and other zemindars; and though he had but a small force compared to the enemy's, yet relying on the imperial auspices, he engaged, and giving them a complete overthrow, marched on towards Jinjee in triumph, taking several forts belonging to the enemy on the way.

A. H. 1105.
A. D. 1693.

The emperor encamped at Kulkulla, sixteen coss from Koor Gaum, and dispatched Jumlat al Moolk to the assistance of Zoolfeccar Khan, who was surrounded by the Mharattas near Jinjee. Several of the new Dekkan amras had deserted from him to Rama, and the scarcity of provisions in his camp was grown to the most alarming pitch. Syed Leshkar Khan, upon this intelligence, was ordered with treasure from the presence and a large supply of provisions to join Jumlat al Moolk Affud Khan, upon whose arrival the army experienced some relief. Zoolfeccar having given the charge of his camp to Alimerdan Khan, fojedaur of Kinjee, marched

marched sixty coss into the territories of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, from the zemindars of which he collected considerable contributions, and then returned, after gaining several advantages over the Mharattas.

Khan Jehaun Bahadur being called from Hindoostan, was graciously received by the emperor, with whom he interceded for the Mharatta chiefs, who had sent their vaqueels to him desiring his mediation, and to be allowed to make their submissions; upon which he was empowered to give them assurances under his own seal, and sent his son Himmut Khan Bahadur to bring Suntah Ghore-ra, Dhunnah Jaddo, and others, to the presence, but they would not consent to this, being fearful of treachery. Himmut Khan returned without effecting any thing, much to the vexation of his father, who felt himself disgraced by being unable to fulfil his promise to the emperor.

Ismaeel Mukh, commander of the Dekkanees in Carnatic Hyderabad, having made his submissions to Zoolfeccar Khan, whom he joined with his relations and followers, was at his request honoured with the rank of five thousand and the title of khan, and proportionate rewards were bestowed on the rest. Ajeet Naire joined Rama in the fort of Jinjee.

Raow Dulput having resigned the government of the fort of Adonee, named by Aurungzebe, Imteauz Ghur, was sent with his followers as far as Sholapore to escort the prince Bedar Bukht, eldest son of Azim Shaw, who was on his return from the siege of Sinsinne, in the Jaut country, near Agra. Being arrived at Bhome, he heard that the Mharattas had blocked up the road, having plundered Maleegaum, and put many of the inhabitants and travellers to death; upon which he secured his baggage in a fort, and marched in pursuit. Mamoor Khan, son of Dilleer Khan, joined him on

A. H. 1104.
A. D. 1692.

the route, and they came up with the enemy near Tuljapore. The Mharattas were full twelve thousand, and Dulput Roy's force not more than eight hundred; but he had some artillery, with which he made great slaughter among the enemy, who fled on the fall of some of their chiefs. A detachment from the presence being sent to watch them, Raow Dulput marched to Sholapore and met the prince, whom he conducted to the emperor. He was now ordered to escort the Persian ambassador from the imperial camp to Aurungabad; which having done, he returned, and was joined by a vast number of all ranks, who had been waiting at that city for an escort to the grand army. Being arrived near Dewaree, intelligence was brought him, that a large body of the enemy was approaching with the hopes of plunder; upon which he left his convoy in a place of security, and advancing with the troops, forced the enemy to engage, and gave them a total defeat, taking prisoner the chief, Lukko Sindia, with several other persons of rank. A valuable plunder fell into his hands. For this service, the emperor was pleased to restore the five hundred to his munsub, which he had taken off on his resigning the kelladaree of Adonee. The Mharattas were now become so impressed by his gallantry, that they ever after fled on hearing of his approach. He was next commanded to escort a supply of treasure, arrived at Aurungabad from the inner provinces, which he successfully performed. This year the emperor ordered a magnificent palace to be erected near Aurungabad, on the banks of the great reservoir.

A. H. 1106. Raow Dulput having brought the treasure from Aurungabad,
 A. D. 1694. notwithstanding the hourly intelligence of the superiority of the enemy, arrived safely at Sholapore. Agreeably to the imperial orders, he gave a muster of nine hundred excellent horse above his compliment, whom he had called from his own jaghire to attend him; but though they did not meet with encouragement from his majesty, yet regarding his own reputation on the frequent services
 upon

upon which he was ordered, he chose to be at the additional expense of maintaining them out of his private revenue.

Beheramund Khan at Porundeh, hearing that the Mharattas had marched towards Toomree, left his baggage at the former place, and moved by forced marches to pursue them; but meeting with Ghazi ad Dien Khan, who was detached on this service, he returned to his camp.

The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhsh moving with a large army, to besiege the fort of Wakin Kerah, was joined by Dulput Raow, and on their arrival before the place, after a very fatiguing march in the height of the rains, the siege was commenced. Skirmishes happened with the enemy's troops every day.

As the siege of Jinjee had lingered to a great length, many of the Mharatta munsubdars deserted to Rama, and a vast army was advancing to relieve the place. Notwithstanding Jumlat al Moolk was at Gulpah with a great force, orders were sent to the prince, to leave Roh Oollah Khan for the siege of Wakin Kerah, to march himself with all speed to Gulpah, and to dispatch Raow Dulput with treasure and five thousand horse from thence to Jinjee to assist Zoolfeccar Khan.

Roh Oollah Khan took command of the siege, and the prince marched for Jinjee by Kernole to Gulpah. Between Kernole and Nudeall, where the road runs close under a range of mountains, were seen the inhabitants of them, a wild people, whose language is not in the least understood by the people of the villages below. Their common food is honey, the roots of trees, plants, and the flesh of animals caught in hunting. They are exceedingly black, with long hair on every part of their bodies, and on their heads wore caps made of the leaves of trees. Each man had with him

unbarbed arrows and a bow for hunting. They molest no one, and live in caverns, or under the shady branches of trees. The prince presented some of them with gold and silver, but they did not seem to put any value upon either, being quite unconcerned at receiving it. Upon the firing of a small gun they darted up the mountains with a surprizing swiftness, uncommon to man.

On the prince's arrival at Gulpah, Affud Khan paid his respects, and joining him with his army, proceeded on to Suddom, which is sixty coss from Jinjee. From this place Raow Dulput was dispatched with treasure and a large supply of provisions to Zoofcecar Khan. Raow Gopal Sing Chanderout, Malojee Goherree, Seedee Salim Khan, and other chiefs, accompanied him. The route lay through a forest, which had been totally impervious, until it was a little cleared by the royal army having cut down many trees and removed them. Horsemen passed with much difficulty, but the loaded elephants and camels were reduced to the last distress. The underwood, which was thorny, was so twined together, as to make it impossible to pass either on the right or left of the road. This tedious pass extended for near forty coss from Suddom to Kinjee. The last is one of the seven chief worshipping places of the Hindoos, which are as follow; Ajodeah or Oude, Mutterah, Pyauge or Aleabad, Kasee or Banaras, Kinjee, Ontkaporee, and Dowaroutee.

These seven have a superiority above all the other holy places of resort. The environs of Kinjee cannot be less in extent than ten coss. There are two temples, Seo Kinjee and Bishen Kinjee, the walls round each of which are not less extensive than the citadel of Beejapore, and within them are innumerable edifices, the cost of which cannot be ascertained by guess. Within the town are many splendid temples, and without, round about it, a great variety. The breadth of the town is trifling, being generally one street of shops, behind which are the houses and gardens of the inhabitants.

There

There are every way a great variety of tanks, which are all lined with stone, and have steps descending the whole length of each side from top to bottom. These are called in Hindoeh, Kund Gobind, collectively, but each has a separate name and season appointed for bathing in it. The court of Seo Kinjee has been formed into a citadel, with bastions and battlements; and in a part of it resides the fojedaur. Upon account of the frequent passage of troops, who commit great excesses, this was but thinly inhabited; but Bishen Kinjee, which is larger, and the customs of it in the receipt of the fojedaur, as part of his salary, was populous and flourishing, being resorted to by numerous pilgrims, who paid a toll for permission to perform their devotions at the temples; so that a great sum is annually collected. From near the fort of Adonee, to Kernole, Kinjee, Jinjee, and hence to the sea coast, there is not a village without a temple, dedicated either to Luchmun, or the god Ram. Raow Dulput at length having arrived at Kinjee, took with him Ali-merdan Khan, the fojedaur of that place, and moved to the fort of Bindwaftnee, which is twelve cofs from Jinjee; then marching by Velore, a fort equal to Ahmednuggur, reached the neighbourhood of Jinjee. As Muttullub Khan, who came with Dulput Raow, had an imperial firmaun for Zoolfeccar Khan, that nobleman advanced to meet it some distance from his camp, the soldiers of which received new life from the treasure and provisions, having long been in extreme want. Zoolfeccar Khan having appointed Raow Dulput to the command of his right wing, he went to reconnoitre round the fort, and the enemy making a sally, the raow detached a small body, who cut many of them to pieces.

Roh Oollah Khan, who had returned to the imperial camp after being obliged to raise the siege of Wakin Kerah, was taken dangerously ill; and seeing death approach, sent this verse to Aurungzebe: "The broken-hearted in the night of absence, his
" life hastening to the close: with what pangs must he die who
" cannot

"cannot see thee!" The emperor repaired to his house without delay, and on his arrival being announced, the dying chief exclaimed in verse, "With what satisfaction does the subject quit the world, whose dying moments you cheer with your presence!" He expired instantly after uttering this, and the emperor retired much affected at the loss of so old and faithful a minister. The date of his death is included in the following verses: "The navob, the beams of whose bounty gladdened the world, when the blast of death extinguished the lamp of his life, the heavens wept, and, mourning, said, 'Life hath left the world.'" Sippedar Khan, the second son of Khan Jehaun, was raised to the rank of three thousand, with the government of the province of Aleabad.

A. H. 1107-8.
A. D. 1695-6.

The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhsh, with Jumlat al Moolk Affud Khan, being arrived in the vicinity of Jinjee, Zoolfeccar Khan and other amras went to pay their respects, and accompany his highness to the spot fixed for his encampment. The khan was himself stationed opposite the great gateway of the fort, and a rivulet ran through his lines. It was now judged proper to surround the place. The camp of the prince and Jumlat al Moolk was fixed toward the hill of Solungwerum, near the redoubt of Kishenghur, which joins to the fort, about a coss and a half from Zoolfeccar Khan's post, and a trench thrown up round it. Ismaeel Khan Mukh, with others, was posted on the road of Carnaticghur behind the fort. Near Shytaundoeh, where was a port by which the besieged had a communication with the woods, and procured supplies, Kaker Khan was stationed to prevent them.

As the enemy frequently at night disturbed the prince's camp by throwing rockets, Zoolfeccar Khan posted a body of his own troops as an outpost, when they ceased their insolence. Six thousand of the enemy made a sally from the gate facing the baggage camp, and

* A pun on his name, it signifying foul or life.

and were repulsed by Zoolfeccar Khan with Raow Dulput and other officers, who pursued them close to the gate with great slaughter. The prince and Affud Khan moved nearer to Zoolfeccar Khan, and fyed Leshkar Khan took up their ground. The rains now set in with great fury; grain again became exceedingly scarce, and the constant duties of the siege beyond measure fatiguing to the troops. The enemy made a desperate sally from the fort on the post of Mahumud Momin, and drove away his troops; but, by the timely succour of Dulput Raow, were again repulsed with great slaughter.

At the conclusion of the rains, Suntah, Dhunnah, and other chiefs, with fifteen thousand horse, advanced for the assistance of Rama to the relief of Jinjee; upon which, as there were not troops sufficient to keep up the blockade and at the same time oppose the enemy in the field, it was resolved, before their arrival, to recall several of the detached posts to the main body. Orders were instantly dispatched to the different amras for this purpose, upon which fyed Leshkar Khan and Kaker Khan joined immediately, but Ismaeel Khan Mukh, who was on the other face of the fort, made some delay, and his followers were employed in collecting their baggage when Dhunnah arrived. The khan upon this formed his people as well as he could, and moved towards the camp, but was attacked on the march by Dhunnah's army and a large body of the enemy from the fort, with whom he sustained a running fight to the post of Kaker Khan, when night coming on the battle ceased, but with the loss of great part of his men killed and taken prisoners. In the morning, the khan, with his remaining followers, pursuing his route over a pass, was himself wounded and taken prisoner, but released soon after, by the kindness of Ajeet Naire on account of former friendship.

All communication between the presence and this army having been long stopped, various idle reports of the emperor's illness and
even

even death prevailed. The prince, on account of the advance of the enemy from all quarters, thinking or feigning to believe such tales, consulted apart with his own servants, who imprudently gave him advice to make terms with the enemy, and, having confined Affud ad Dowlah and Zoolfeccar Khan, to act independantly. Having agreed with Rama, the prince resolved to join him, and suddenly ordered out his followers and baggage for march; but Affud Khan being informed of this rash measure, sent immediate advice of it to Zoolfeccar Khan, also a message to the prince, requesting to know the cause of his preparing his troops in the night. To this an answer was sent back, that he had received intelligence of the enemy's intending to make a night attack. Jumlat al Moolk replied, that the alarm was false, and desired that the troops might retire to their tents, and only the usual guards be posted, as other preparations only served to spread false alarms, and dishearten the army.

The prince learning that Affud Khan was upon his guard, and had called together the imperial officers, thought proper to dismiss his troops, and defer the execution of his plan to another opportunity. Zoolfeccar Khan being informed by his father of the prince's conduct, collected all his officers, and remained under arms during the night. In the morning, after bursting as many of the cannon as could not be carried off from the batteries, he moved with all his troops to the grand camp. A body of the enemy from the fort, after much cautious reconnoitring, advanced to destroy the works, while another attacked the line on its march.

Zoolfeccar Khan having joined his father, a council was held, in which it was argued, that if the prince's plan should take effect, the emperor would be very justly displeased, so that it would be most adviseable to prevent it by putting the prince under confinement. This being agreed upon, Affud Khan, Zoolfeccar Khan, and

and other amras, passing by the audience tent, and from thence upon their elephants within the netting, threw down the skreens of the dewan khaneh. The prince's servants were alarmed, and the attendants of the mahal fired some musquetry.

The prince, disturbed at the intrusion, came running confusedly from the square of the women's apartments, when some foot soldiers belonging to Jellall Khan seizing his hands, brought him without his shoes before Jumlat al Moolk. Dulput Raow seeing him in this humiliating situation, immediately rode up, and placed him upon his elephant, seating himself behind in the khow-asseh. Affud Khan now addressed the prince, telling him that the late rumours were false, as the emperor was in health; also, that he had acted in such a manner as would not only disgrace himself, but bring shame upon his grey hairs. The enemy by their feints kept the camp in constant alarm all this day. As it was not safe to leave the prince in his own tents, Affud Khan brought him to his, and having performed the customary compliments upon his alighting, ordered every thing necessary for his accommodation. Syed Leshkar Khan was appointed to guard him, and the attendants of the mahal were placed separately.

Intelligence arrived that Suntah was following Dhunnah, and had arrived at Cavereepauk, ten cofs from Kinjee, and that Alimerdan Khan Fojedaur had marched to oppose him, thinking himself superior. Suntah had a very large force; and, in the action, a numerous body of Bhela foot, which the khan had hired, deserted to the enemy, so that he was obliged to fly, and attempted to regain the post of Kinjee, but was taken prisoner with many of his officers, and all his elephants, camels, horses, and baggage were plundered.

Suntah arrived shortly after this at Jinjee, and the enemy amounted now to twenty thousand horse, besides the garrison of the place. Of the imperial troops, great part were unavoidably employed in guarding the prince and the charge of the baggage. The prince's followers were disgusted, and would not stir out of their lines, and Maun Sing Rhatoree, an ameer of two thousand, with some others, feigning illness, skulked with the baggage. Zoolfeccar Khan, Dulput Raow, Serafrauz Khan, Fattedh Oollah Khan Tooranee, Raow Kanoo Mharatta, and some other chiefs, with about two thousand horse, engaged the enemy and repeatedly defeated them, so that they could make no impression.

The scarcity of grain became now so great in the camp, as to be intolerable : upon which Zoolfeccar Khan with his brave friends marched to procure supplies at the fort of Bindwaftnee, twelve coss from Jinjee, and arrived during the night. The Tooran Moguls, under cover of the dark, plundered the corn merchants, and proper order was lost by the impatience of the troops. In the morning, the khan collecting what was left, returned towards the camp. The enemy had collected at Deoe to oppose him, and attacked on all quarters. Raow Dulput on the flank repeatedly repulsed them, assisted the front when hard pressed, and often took charge of the rear. This night was passed near Jinjee, and in the morning the enemy in great force charged on all quarters, firing so quickly, that the grain merchants were thrown into confusion. Their marksmen aimed chiefly at the amras' elephants, and many shot passed over Raow Dulput, who also used his matchlock, and wounded some of the enemy's officers. The bullocks with grain now sunk into the mud in crossing a swamp of rice fields, and even the horse could move but with slowness and difficulty. The ammunition was also nearly expended. At this juncture, most of Raow Dulput's cavalry moved to the right, where was a sound road, and thus became separated from the infantry, so that not above eighty horse remained

remained round the raow's elephant. The enemy seeing this, detached a party of their foot to an eminence near, who fired so quick, that matters became desperate. The raow had stopped to help the camels and bullocks out of the swamp, and during this the rest of the troops had marched on. The raow, determined to sell his life dearly, stood firmly, and shortly after was joined by Serafrauz Khan Dekkanee with five or six thousand horse, when he charged the enemy, and drove about twelve thousand near half a mile; then halting till the bullocks were disengaged from the swamp, he slowly followed the baggage. The firing now became less frequent, and being arrived at a brook, where some small pieces of artillery were swamped, the khan fixed to them strong ropes, which having put round the elephants, they drew them out. The enemy were appalled at such gallantry, and went off towards Jinjee. Zoolfeccar Khan arrived at the camp about nightfall, and fully represented to Affud Khan the raow's behaviour, on which he conferred many praises.

The supply now brought was but small, and the scarcity soon became again distressing. Some of the followers ventured to the enemy's camp with money, and were allowed to buy sufficient for a meal, which they ate on the spot, but not to bring the smallest quantity away. The enemy from morning till night daily made attacks on the camp, in which was now neither provisions, money, nor hopes of any speedy succour, so that affairs were reduced to the last pitch of distress. At this alarming crisis, Rama, contrary to the advice of all his chiefs, proposed a truce, that the army should move to Bindwaftnee, when he would prepare a proper offering for his majesty. Dulput Raow repeatedly advised Affud Khan and Zoolfeccar Khan against compliance, observing, that it could only be attended by disgrace, and offering to advance thirty or forty thousand rupees for the immediate use of the troops, it being safer at all events to wait a few days longer, and expect

relief from the emperor, than make terms. On the other hand, all the soldiers, particularly the artillery, declared they would not remain another day, as they must inevitably die of hunger; so that Affud Khan was reduced to comply with their clamours, and make a truce.

Affud Khan with the prince moved at twelve o'clock the next day, but the horses, camels, and other animals of the camp, were so weakened by famine, that they could not take away the baggage, great part of which was set fire to, and much left on the ground. The Mharatta soldiers came into the camp freely, and seeing great quantities of valuable baggage lying about, promised the owners that whatever they left behind should be safely conveyed to them; but about a thousand of them followed the army on the march, and plundered the straggling followers. The exhausted troops arrived in three days at Bindwaftnee, and grain was procured. News now arrived that Cafim Khan was advanced as far as Cavereepauk with large supplies, and that Suntah had marched to attack him, but he took timely shelter in a fort with his convoy. Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving the prince in the fort of Bindwaftnee, marched to Cafim Khan's assistance, and brought the supplies in safety to his camp. The reports which had prevailed were now happily contradicted, and the troops inspired with new confidence. As several zemindars had attacked and plundered former convoys on the road, Zoolfeccar Khan and Cafim Khan, having marched, collected considerable contributions from them. When the news of the siege of Jinjee being raised reached him, the emperor was greatly displeased, and ordered the prince and Affud Khan to his presence. Great favours were conferred on the former, but much coolness shewn to the latter. This year a fortification was begun round Begumpore at Aurungabad, to protect it from the Mharattas.

When

When Zoolfeccar Khan, upon raising the siege of Jinjee, re-
 moved to Bindwaftnee, the enemy possessed themselves of several
 small forts. He now marched to regain them, and storming the
 fort of Permacoil, put the garrison to the sword. He after this
 also took many fortified temples, which abound through both the
 Carnatics, and were built in former ages by the rajas, before the
 Mahummedan conquests. When he arrived near Tanjore, the
 zemindar of Tritchinopoly sent a considerable offering, with requests
 of assistance to recover several places which the raja of Tanjore had
 taken from him. Zoolfeccar Khan complied with the request, and
 obliged the Tanjoree to restore them. The raja of Tritchinopoly
 was an infant, and the power of the state vested in his mother, a
 woman of great abilities, who conducted affairs with a masculine
 courage. Here is a sumptuous temple, built by the rajas, on the
 banks of the Caverree.

A. H. 1109.
 A. D. 1697.

Zoolfeccar Khan overran Tanjore, took much plunder and a
 very large contribution from the raja; after which he demanded one
 from the zemindar of Palimcote, but he using many evasions, the
 khan besieged the place, which held out, the inhabitants making
 several bold sallies, for five days; when Raow Dulput, with the
 loss of fifty Raajepootes, got possession of the town, and the polygars
 evacuated the fort by a wicket in the night, but they were intercept-
 ed and plundered by the troops. Zoolfeccar Khan, after the cap-
 ture of this post, placed tannas in Annetwaul, and returned to the
 neighbourhood of Jinjee. Having doubts of the fidelity of Ajeet
 Naire, he communicated them to the emperor, who ordered him
 to be put to death; which was done by stratagem, as he was too
 powerful to be punished openly. All his women burnt with him.
 His effects were plundered by the troops.

Assud Khan was now called to the presence, and again restored
 to the imperial favour. Zoolfeccar Khan having sent, under the
 charge

A. H. 1110.
 A. D. 1698.

charge of Syed Kubbeer, the contributions of the zemindars of Carnatic to the presence, was distinguished by promotion and other honours. The emperor with the royal family went to pass the Ramazan at Beejapore, and left the charge of the grand camp to Affud Khan. At this time, the wells in the city of Beejapore dried up entirely, and the inhabitants were obliged to bring water from a distance.

The prince Mahummud Mauzim, with his family, had long been confined closely in the Ruggelah Bar, and suffered greatly from his father's displeasure. Mahummud Azim Shaw was dangerously indisposed with a dropsy, and some ill conduct of the prince Kaum Bukhsh had caused him to be kept also in strict confinement. At length the emperor, moved by their distresses and paternal affection, ordered the prince's tents to be pitched without the Ruggelah Bar, and permitted them more liberty. After this they were gradually restored to their jaghires and commands. The prince Mahummud Mauzim was honoured with the title of Bahadur Shaw and government of Cabul. On taking leave, he was permitted to beat the nobut from the royal quarters. Several amras were also sent with him. The imperial camp moved to Birmahpore, called now Islaumpore, twelve coss from Sholapore, on the banks of the Beemrah river.

Zoolfeccar Khan besieged the fort of Vellore, and had reduced the place to great distress, when Dhunnah and Suntah approached with a considerable army to its relief. Dhunnah arrived first, and the khan having sent his baggage and women, under charge of Raow Dulput, to the fort of Arcot, eight coss distant, marched to oppose the enemy; who then retired to Tirivaddee, where they surrounded Saadutmund Khan Ghoree, the fojedaur, but the khan arriving speedily, gave Dhunnah a complete defeat, after which he returned to recommence the siege.

Suntah

Suntah following Dhunnah, arrived in the Beejapore Carnatic, where Casim Khan, the fojedaur, joined by Khanehzad Khan and Amaun Oollah Khan; prepared to oppose him; but the zemindars joining Suntah, he was greatly superior to the royalists. Casim Khan fled to the fort of Dundooore, but there being scarce any provisions in the place, many men, elephants, camels, horses, and bullocks, began to die of hunger. Every hope of relief was cut off; and about a month had passed in this distressed situation, when a capitulation was unavoidably entered into. The effects, which had escaped the plunder in the field, were all given up to the enemy, and the troops came out in a most wretched and famished situation. Casim Khan died during the blockade: the other amras, after recruiting themselves and men at Adonee, moved to the presence; but the emperor, being much displeased, would not admit them to an audience, and detached them to various places. Khanehzad Khan was appointed kelladaar of Mahummudabad Bieder; Suffshekun Khan fojedaur of Dhamounnee; Mahummud Moraud Khan fojedaur of Godereh in Guzarat; and Ram Chund, son of Raow Dulput, kelladaar of Ghur Nummoona; but he fled from thence to his father's zemindaree with intention of taking forcible possession; upon which the emperor sent orders to the fojedours of that quarter, either to take him prisoner, or put him to death.

Suntah after his victory moved towards Jinjee; when Zoolfeccar Khan marching from Arcot gave him a total defeat near the fort of Arnee. Himmut Khan, son of Khan Jehaun Bahadur, being sent to the aid of Khanehzad Khan, was killed by an arrow in an action with the enemy, and soon after Khan Jehaun died in the imperial camp. Aurungzebe did him the honour of a visit in his last moments. His fortune was confiscated to the treasury, but the amount did not answer expectations. He was a nobleman of true dignity; and, being the emperor's foster brother, thought himself superior to all the other amras. He was expensively magnificent in his equipages,

pages, houses, and attendants. He used great freedom of speech with Aurungzebe, who was often displeased with his repartees, particularly, when on asking his advice in the affairs of Dekkan, he talked in a free strain of censure on the imperial operations.

A. H. 1111. This year was employed in pursuing the Mharattas, who plundered Dekkan in parties, as far as Ballaghaut.
A. D. 1699.

A. H. 1112. Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving his baggage at Arcot, marched to collect contributions, which he exacted from the zemindars of Tanjore and other districts; but they did not suffice to pay up the troops. He then moved near Jinjee, where intestine divisions had happened among the Mharatta chiefs, which gave hopes of taking the place.
A. D. 1700.

Dhunnah, having disagreed with Suntah, represented to Rama, that this chief had usurped dangerous power, from his large army, and had formed plans of treason against him. Upon this, Rama dispatched Amreet Raow, a chief of much reputation, with his own and Dhunnah's troops, to attack Suntah, who defeated them. Rama and Dhunnah retreated to Jinjee, and Suntah returned to his own country, much displeased at their treatment; but he was killed in a surprize shortly after, by the brother in law of Amreet Raow, who cut off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Dhunnah now acquired great power among the Mharattas, and formed a party with Ram Chund Pundit, Rama's minister; but Perferam, another principal Pundit, favoured the cause of Ranoo, Suntah's son, and his uncle Herjee Hindoo Raow.

At this time Rama entreated peace on certain conditons, and sent his son Kerrun under care of Ram Chund Harrah to Zoolfeccar Khan, who forwarded his petition to court, and encamped during the rains at Bindwaftnee. The emperor would not listen to Rama's offers of submission, but ordered Zoolfeccar Khan to commence the
siege

siege of Jinjee; upon which Kerrun was sent back to his father. Zoolfeccar Khan was honoured by the title of Nufferut Jung; upon which he made a great feast, and conferred rich presents upon his officers and troops.

Nufferut Jung marched, and encamped before Jinjee, of which he began the siege without delay. He himself chose the post of Soulungwerum, Dulput Raow was stationed before the gateway and on the back of the fort, Ram Chund Harrah between it and Chummar Tungara, a redoubt which was taken by storm two days after by Daood Khan Punnee. Here was the wicket of Shitaun Dooee, and Nufferut Jung might have taken the fort of Jinjee in an instant if he had chosen to follow his blow by this passage; but, like many other generals, he wished to prolong the war. Indeed the total ruin of the Mharatta power might have been effected with ease many years before, but the amras delayed on purpose, and secretly assisted each other to draw out the war to a never ending length, for their own advantage; also dreading, that when the emperor should have finally reduced Dekkan, he would carry his arms to Candahar and Bulkh, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who did not wish to encounter the hardships of the north.

Rama being alarmed, left his family, and fled to Tanjore. Raow Dulput, who was stationed near the gateway, carried his approaches to Kishen Ghur, which joins to Jinjee, and was advanced near the wall, when Zoolfeccar Khan thought proper to recall him to his own post, and Daood Khan was stationed at Chuttun Ghur. A person having found out a path which led through the woods into the fort, communicated his discovery to Daood Khan, who went himself with some attendants to survey it, and finding it passable, the storm was immediately ordered. Raow Dulput with his followers soon gained the outer wall in spite of

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all opposition; upon which the besieged fled towards the citadel, called Calicote, but the Raajepootes were too swift for them, and put to death great numbers; also taking five elephants belonging to Rama. The survivors took refuge in a building called Raujehur. The wicket of Shitaun Dooee, which had been bricked up, was now opened, and Zoolfeccar Khan entered with his people.

Daood Khan also entered at another part, and the inhabitants here asked for quarter, which was granted them, but an immense plunder fell to the victors. Rama's family having barricadoed themselves in Raujehur, the strongest part of Jinjee, entreated terms; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan came himself to the gate, and sent in by a ladder Ram Chund Harrah to give them assurances of protection and good treatment. Palanquins were sent for the women and children, who came out and were saved from violence; but one of Rama's wives, fearing dishonour, threw herself from the top of the wall, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. Zoolfeccar Khan remained in the fort to collect the plunder and post guards; but the other amras returned to their several stations. About four thousand women and children were taken, but very few fighting men. Jinjee is the general name for the whole of the fortifications, though there are six forts and a large town, extensive tanks, groves of cocoanut trees, and gardens. The khan having given orders for the repair of the fort and an investigation of the private paths, appointed Ghuzzunfir Khan kelladaar for the present, and came out with Rama's women and children under his own protection, to the camp.

A. H. 1113.

A. D. 1701.

This year the imperial camp was overflowed by the rising of the Beemrah, and great numbers of people drowned; but at length his majesty penned a devout prayer, which upon being thrown into the water, it fell instantly. The prince Bahadur Shaw was appointed to the government of Cabul.

Zoolfeccar

Zoolfeccar Khan Nufferut Jung was called to the presence from Arcot. The emperor marched in person against the enemy, and after taking in three days the fort of Buffunt Gurrah, sat down before Sittarra, a place of great strength. Bhaow Kishna, a Mharatta chief, with fifteen thousand horse, crossed the river Nerbudda, and after laying waste Dhamounce and some other districts, retreated. This was the first time that a Mharatta chief had ventured to extend their depredations across the Nerbudda. Ranoo, Suntah's son, with Harjee Gorereh, commonly called Hindoo Raow, in conjunction had collected great riches by their incursions, and Rama, at the head of a vast body, also committed great excesses in the imperial foubah of Berar.

A. H. 1114.
A. D. 1702.

Sultan Bedar Bukht was detached to punish these banditti, also Zoolfeccar Khan; who, leaving his heavy baggage at Sholapore, met the prince near the town of Jarnate, and marched in pursuit of Rama, who fled before him, by the road of Porundeh, and crossed the Beemrah into his own country. Dhunnah with other chiefs marched for Birmahpore, where was the imperial baggage camp, and had the khan not followed by very quick marches, they would most probably have plundered it. On the day of his approach they fled towards Sittarra Ghur, and being arrived near the royal camp, attempted the plunder of the grand granaries; but Zoolfeccar Khan coming up, gave them a total defeat. The evening of the battle Beheramund Khan, meer bukhshi, joined the khan, and requested that he would permit him to take the credit of the victory, in order to give him reputation with the emperor. The khan consented; and accordingly the bukhshi and his followers were honoured with the royal thanks and honorary dresses. Some days after, Zoolfeccar Khan requested an audience, and was graciously received by the emperor, who dispatched him with other amras to observe the enemy, and prevent them from committing excesses on the baggage camp at Birmahpore. On his arrival, he learned that Ouzbuk

Khan, with a large convoy of money and provisions, was arrived at Roigurrah, twelve cofs off, but had halted, not daring to advance through fear of the enemy, who were on the watch for so rich a prize. The khan upon this marched to join him; then leaving the baggage under his charge, pursued the enemy four and twenty cofs from the morning until nine o'clock at night, not giving them the smallest respite or himself refreshment. He then returned, and conducting the convoy in safety to Birmahpore, halted some time in that neighbourhood.

Intelligence arrived that Rama dying of the small pox, was succeeded by his son Kerrun, who survived him but a few days, and was succeeded by his son Sewa, an infant of only two years, under the guardianship of Ram Chund Pundit, who took up his residence with his charge in the fortress of Kalneh, and was unanimously obeyed by the other chiefs. Nufferut Jung pursued a body of the enemy by Sholapore, and crossed the Beemrah at Tuljapore, into their country.

Ruttun Sing, son of Gopal Sing, who had been sent by his father to manage his zemindaree, kept back the revenues to his own use; upon which Gopal Sing complained to the emperor, who ordered Ruttun Sing to the presence, but he would not obey. However after some time he made his submissions, through Mukhtar Khan, the governor of Malwa, and embraced the Mahummedan faith; which pleasing Aurungzebe, he conferred upon him his father's territories. Gopal Sing being disgusted at this, fled from the sultan Bedar Bukht's camp, and endeavoured to recover his country by rebellion; but, not succeeding, he sought a shelter in the rana of Odipore's dominions. The emperor at this time shewed but little favour to his faithful and most useful subjects the Raajepootes, which greatly cooled their ardour for his service.

Zoolfeccar

Zoolfeccar, after crossing at Tuljapore, pursued the enemy wherever they fled, and had several severe engagements, in all which he was victorious. Dissentions had happened between Dhunnah and Ranoo; but they now saw it their interest to unite, and agreed to meet for a reconciliation, and to form a plan of operations, near Koolburga. The khan, having pursued Dhunnah to the neighbourhood of Tuldoorg, left his baggage at Sholapore, and marched towards the town of Monillah, which was the place of conference fixed upon by the two chiefs. Dhunnah upon this ventured to engage, and was defeated. He after this met Ranoo, who brought a vast body to join him, at Firoseabad, eight coss from Koolburga. Being reconciled, the two chiefs formed a regular camp, near the ruined fort of Firoseabad, on the banks of the Beemrah. Zoolfeccar Khan, though his force was comparatively small with that of the enemy, which consisted of thirty five thousand horse, repeatedly defeated them, and, at length, after a space of eight months, they were rendered unable to keep the field, and separating their forces, took shelter in the woods. After a continuance of some months, Ranoo went towards Pernalleh, and Dhunnah towards Wakin Kerah. The khan, upon intelligence of this, leaving Birmahpore upon his right, marched, and encamped near the fort of Mujhunder, belonging to the emperor. The rains now set in, and the horses, elephants, and camels had been so harassed by constant marching as to be quite unserviceable. The khan had in this last campaign, in marches, countermarches, and pursuits, moved above two thousand coss, so that the whole army was excessively fatigued. Intelligence now arrived, that a body of the enemy committed depredations between Birmahpore and the royal camp; upon which the emperor ordered the khan to take post where he thought proper between these two stations, to keep open the communication. The khan acted accordingly, shifting his ground from place to place, as he saw occasion. Daood Khan Punnee was detached from him to the

the fojedaury of Carnatic Hyderabad, so that but a very small force remained.

The emperor was still engaged in besieging the fort of Sittarra Ghur, which yet held out against his arms with an obstinate bravery, and found means to procure daily supplies by private roads. The besieged also made several sallies by night on the camp, but were always driven back with loss.

Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery, at length carried two mines under a bastion, which were sprung, and blew up about four hundred of the besieged who were stationed upon the walls of the fort; but Terbeut Khan having neglected to give proper information to the troops in the batteries, about three thousand of them, with several chiefs of note, were killed by the explosion: which misfortune brought upon him the royal displeasure, and the resentment of the whole army, as every one had lost a relation or friend. The governor of the fort, finding it vain to stand out longer, begged quarter; and, at the intercession of sultan Bedar Bukht, was pardoned, and promoted to the rank of five thousand. The emperor named this fort Azim Tarrah; and, after settling a proper garrison, moved to besiege Perlee, another strong fortress not far distant. Fatteh Oollah Khan was commanded to conduct the siege, and having found an opportunity of planting wooden ladders on the walls, about three hundred Moguls and others were killed in an unsuccessful storm; but the enemy soon after submitted on capitulation, which was granted by his majesty, at the intercession of the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw. This place was named by the emperor Norufs Tarrah.

After this, the emperor marched, though in the height of the rains, which was so distressing to the army, that even many noble-men were obliged to travel on foot. He halted for some days at
Bhosegurrah,

Bhofegurrah, which was new named Islaum Tarrah: the prince Azim Shaw was sent to Malwa, as the rana had shewn signs of disaffection by giving shelter to Gopal Sing Chandraowt, and a rebellion in that quarter was expected, more especially as Shujaut Khan, the governor of Ajmere, was lately dead, and a new one not yet appointed. Ghazi ad Dien Khan, who had been sent to correct the zemindar of Deogur, was recalled to the presence, and the prince ordered to punish him on his march. Upon this account he halted some time at Boorahanpore, and was then ordered to take upon him the government of Guzarat.

Dulput Roy was honoured with the command of the advanced body of Zoolfeccar Khan's army, in the room of Daood Khan Punnee; and though he had before kept up a force out of his own purse, beyond his compliment, he on this occasion greatly encreased the number for his own reputation.

The emperor moved to encamp at Khouasspore for the remainder of the rains, which were so violent, that the camp was overflowed by the river, and a great number of people and cattle perished. The waters rose up to the gate of the royal music room, and danger was apprehended to the apartments of his majesty, who was at this time much indisposed with a sore in the right foot, which resisted all the power of medicine, and was very painful.

The prince Bedar Bukht was sent towards Mortizaabad for the siege of Pernalleh, and Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to attend him. He accordingly joined the prince at Moorje, where he halted some time on account of the overflowing of the waters; but repeated instructions coming from court to proceed, the prince at length moved by forced marches, and sat down before Pernalleh. Zoolfeccar Khan made an excursion as far as the fort of Khalneh. The emperor

emperor moved from Khouasspore to Moorje, in order to give instructions and assist the siege.

Dhunnah with a great body of Mharattas having plundered in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, Hummeed ad Dien Khan and Munaim Khan were detached against him; but a great number of their followers being killed, they required reinforcements, and Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to their assistance. The enemy fled immediately on hearing of his approach, and he pursued them as far as Jugoanee in Beejapore, when they made a stand, and were defeated with great loss. The next day a fresh body appeared, and Raow Dulput pursued them without halting for thirty coss, with much slaughter. Zoolfeccar Khan after this moved back with speed to Pernalleh, lest the enemy should attempt to disturb the siege of that place.

All the Mharatta chiefs after some time united under Ram Chund Pundit, and moved to the neighbourhood of Pernalleh, where they plundered the camp followers and travellers without mercy. A number of grain merchants coming with provisions, the enemy surrounded them at Rollapore, only five coss from the camp; upon which the prince sent Serdaur Khan Dekkanee to their assistance; but the enemy being in great force, he could only act upon the defensive, of which he sent notice to the prince, who immediately dispatched Nufferut Jung, Raow Dulput, and Ram Sing Harrah to his relief. Raow Dulput arriving first, his Raajepootes killed about four hundred of the enemy's foot. Zoolfeccar Khan remained under arms the whole night, and in the morning the enemy, seeing no advantage was to be gained, took to flight. The whole imperial army was much distressed this year, by fatiguing marches, scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniencies.

Ghazi

Ghazi ad Dien Khan being recalled from Deogur to the presence, was ordered to pursue Ranoo, who committed depredations in the neighbourhood of Koolburga; and also to punish Ponapah Pinder, the raow of Wakin Kerah. Ghazi ad Dien marched towards Koolburga, and the emperor to carry on the siege of Pernalleh with greater vigour. Mucklifs Khan, second bukshi, died, and Khanehzad Khan, son of Roh Oollah Khan, being recalled from Hyderabad, was honoured with his father's title and the office of grand steward of the imperial household. When the emperor arrived in the vicinity of Pernalleh, the prince with all his officers received the honour of an audience. Abou Houffun, the deposed king of Hyderabad, died at this time in his confinement in the fortress of Dowlutabad. Dhunnah and other Mharatta chiefs, advanced to the grand baggage camp at Birmahpore, and the enemy even invaded Khandeshe and the province of Malwa. Zoolfeccar Khan pursued and defeated Dhunnah.

A. H. 1116.

A. D. 1704.

Jumlat al Moolk Affud Khan was recalled to the presence, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan entrusted with the charge of the baggage camp in his room. The fort of Pernalleh was at length taken, after which the emperor moved with the grand camp, and cantoned in the vicinity of Kuttason and Burrah Butchgaum. Beheramund Khan was sent to besiege the fort of Chundun Mundun, which the enemy marched to relieve; but Zoolfeccar Khan advancing in the night, when it rained very hard, came upon their army by surprise, and defeated them. The emperor now marched to besiege the fort of Khalneh, and was pleased to exalt Affud Khan to the title of ameer al amra.

Zoolfeccar Khan again defeated a great body of Mharattas in the neighbourhood of Porundeh, and at several other places. During this pursuit, he passed through part of Berar, which was much laid waste by the enemy; but they had spared some pergun-

nahs, the zemindars of which were regular in the payment of the choute. The landholders of Berar and Khandeshe joined the enemy, to the number of sixty thousand, and opposed Zoolfeccar Khan, whose force was but small, and Alimerdan Khan, the nazim of Berar, durst not move from Elichpore, the capital of the province, out of dread of the enemy; upon which the khan marched to within ten coss of that city, and summoned him to join; which at length he did, but every day begged to be dismissed. Zoolfeccar Khan, regarding the good of the imperial service, would not comply with his request.

One day, the khan having made a tedious forced march, came to an eminence where he designed to halt for the night; but perceiving the enemy's camp, Dulput Raow was dispatched to attack it with his advanced corps, and the khan followed to support him with the whole army. The enemy were soon put to the route, and fled seventeen coss without once looking behind them, so great was the dread of the khan's arms. He now permitted Alimerdan Khan to return to Elichpore, and was visited by Khodabundeh Khan, son to the late ameer al amra Shaisteh Khan, but this nobleman would not move the smallest distance with him out of his districts, so that Zoolfeccar Khan was left with not more than three thousand horse. Notwithstanding, he still pursued the enemy, who amounted to about sixty thousand, to the fort of Kolass Ghur, in the Hyderabad country. It is the custom of the Mharattas to press chiefly on the rear of an enemy, and they followed this mode on the present crisis, but were as often repulsed by the bravery of Ram Sing Harrah and Dulput Raow.

Zoolfeccar having in the pursuit expended most of his ammunition, found it adviseable to retire to Mahummudabad Bieder for fresh supplies, which having procured, he again marched after the enemy, and gave them a complete defeat on the banks of the
river

river Baumgunga; after which they separated, and fled to the hills in different bodies. They soon again threatened Berar, but Zoolfeccar Khan, by forced marches, advanced to the borders of that province, when they thought proper to retreat. At this time, from the river Nerbudda, through all Dekkan, Khandeshe, Berar, and Kokun, in every district, the Mharattas swarmed like ants or locusts. It may not be unnecessary to mention the causes of the encrease of these plunderers, who, though always defeated by the royal troops in the field, yet by their sudden inroads often laid whole districts waste, before armies could arrive to punish them.

In the reign of Shaw Jehaun the government of provinces was lodged with amras of the first rank, who kept a large force on foot, but were now held by new nobles, of inferior rank, poor, and rapacious, who neglected to maintain proper troops, and at the same time oppressed the people. The zemindars would not obey fojedars without troops, and became rebellious, and remiss in their payments. As the fojedars could not force them, they were glad to content themselves with what they could get; and in order to lead a quiet life, entered into secret agreements with them, and winked at their disobedience, which made them still more insolent.

In the countries dependant on Hyderabad and Beejapore, which before their conquest maintained above two hundred thousand horse, there were not now stationed above thirty four thousand. The jaghiredars could not get possession of their jaghires for want of troops; and if they did, their holding them for any time was so uncertain, that they did not consider the ease of the farmers, but oppressed them for money by every mode that avarice could devise, so that they entered into combinations with the enemy. While the newly conquered countries were thus unsettled, the antient territories of Dekkan were not less troubled by the tyranny of governors, and the frequent changes of them and the jaghiredars, who were

obliged not only to supply their own necessities, but furnish large bribes to the civil officers about the court. It was represented to the emperor, that the zemindars were in confederacy with the enemy; upon which he ordered all their weapons of defence to be seized, and this left them an easy prey to invaders, whom at last they joined for self-security.

Contributions were then collected in lieu of regular revenues, and the parties sent every where to collect supplies for the grand camp were guilty of every sort of excess. Added to this, the collectors of the odious religious capitation, forced millions from the farmers, and accounted but for small sums with the royal treasury. Whenever the emperor appointed a jaghiredar, the Mharattas appointed another to the same district, and both collected as they found opportunity; so that, in fact, every place had two masters. The farmers, thus oppressed, left off cultivating more ground than would barely subsist them, and in their turns became plunderers for want of employment.

The emperor having taken most of the Mharatta fortresses, they were left without any resource but plunder, out of which they paid a share to their chief, the son of Rama. Many of the powerful disaffected zemindars joined them, so that they amounted to above an hundred thousand horse. The imperial amras, deprived of their revenues from the jaghires, had recourse to false musters, and did not keep up above half their compliments of men; so that detachments could not be sent every where to punish the invaders, and the grand army was always employed in sieges, which left the Mharattas at liberty to plunder almost without molestation, but particularly during the siege of Khalneh, their excesses were unbounded. They stopped every communication of supply to the imperial camp, where numbers perished by famine; and their insolence grew to such a pitch, that they once a week offered up mock prayers

prayers for the long life of Aurungzebe, whose mode of making war was so favourable to their invasions and depredations. Added to this, the imperial troops were tired out with a constant campaign of above twenty years, and grew disgusted and remiss in their duty.

Zoolfeccar Khan, during six months, had nineteen actions with the enemy, and pursued them from place to place, above three thousand coss, in marches and countermarches.

Zoolfeccar Khan encamped for some time near Satoor, and then made incursions to the neighbourhood of Kundaneh, where the Mharattas had fixed their cantonments. The fort of Khalneh now fell into the emperor's hands, when, notwithstanding the height of the rains, he moved to Bahadur Ghur. This march was attended with so many inconveniences, that even the emperor's tents were often left far in the rear, and bodies of the enemy plundered part of the baggage, which, through the fatigue of the elephants, camels, and bullocks, were left behind in different places. Zoolfeccar Khan was dispatched towards Ahmednuggur in pursuit of the enemy, who were committing depredations in that quarter. Beheramund Khan, meer bukhshi, one of Aurungzebe's oldest nobility and friends, dying was buried at his own request in a small tomb at Bahadur Ghur. He was succeeded in his office by Zoolfeccar Khan Nufferut Jung, who, notwithstanding this appointment, continued in the command of the army against the Mharattas, and Muttullub Khan acted as his deputy in the presence.

A. H. 1117.

A. D. 1705.

The depredations of a large body of the enemy near the royal camp were encreasing daily, and some of the imperial elephants were carried off from their foraging ground, at only two coss distant from it. Mahummud Ameen Khan Tooranee, suddur al suddoor, was sent to recover them, but the enemy pressed him so hard, that his elephants, horses, camels, and baggage, fell into their hands.

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He himself with the greatest difficulty escaped alone into a village, from which he travelled in a common hackery to Chumarcondah, where the fojedaur supplied him with necessary conveyance to the royal camp. Aurungzebe however received him graciously, and conferred many favours upon him. The emperor after this marched to besiege the fort of Kundaneh, and Fatteh Oollah Khan was sent to conduct the artillery from Khalneh. He was hard pushed by the enemy near Rhamutpore, but Zoolfeccar Khan arrived in time to his assistance, and it was resolved to punish Dhunnah effectually. At this instant intelligence arrived, that Cheen Koollich Khan, fojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, was arrived on the banks of the Kistnah, sixteen coss from the city, and that a large body of Mharattas had marched with the hopes of plundering him. Zoolfeccar, upon this, moved by forced marches to support him, but upon his arrival at Beejapore he learned that Koollich Khan had safely gained the fort of Mudkul, and Dhunnah, being disappointed, had gone towards the neighbourhood of Koolburga. Though Ghazi ad Dien Khan was at the head of an army to punish the enemy, he did not move to the assistance of his son. Upon his arrival at Koolburga, Zoolfeccar Khan received orders to hasten to the presence. At this time the emperor was employed in the siege of Kundaneh, where Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery, had erected his batteries on the same hill, that the Maharajah Jeffwunt Sing had formerly done. Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived in camp, was graciously received, and ordered to carry on approaches on the side of Sewapore. Many days had not passed, when intelligence arrived that a body of Mharattas, having crossed the Nerbudda, were committing depredations near Oojein, and that the Afghauns of Malwa had also raised a rebellion; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan was ordered to march for the defence of that country. Raow Dulput was now promoted to the rank of three thousand. Ghazi ad Dien Khan was appointed to the government of Berar, and to defend the country of
of

of Telingana, when he fixed his cantonments close to the fort of Candahar.

The emperor still lay before Kundaneh. Sultan Mahummud Bedar Bukht was appointed to the government of Aurungabad and Boorahanpore. The enemy, after plundering the environs of the last mentioned city, crossed the Nerbudda, and destroyed the town of Ghurkore. Though Raja Jey Sing and Rustum Khan Dekkanee were detached against them by the prince, yet no advantage was gained; upon which the royal orders were issued, that the prince and Zoolfeccar Khan should act in conjunction.

The khan arriving near Ferdapore, the Mharattas quitted the siege of that city, and made incursions into Berar. The prince left Alimerdan Khan for the defence of Boorahanpore, and Zoolfeccar Khan detached Rustum Khan Dekkanee for the protection of Berar. Intelligence arrived, that the enemy under Dhunnah's son had besieged Sultanpore Nudderbar, upon which Zoolfeccar Khan marched to that quarter, where, on his arrival, he learned that they had gone to Buggellana. The khan pursued them, and arrived at Ambolah, where Ragnoo, a Mharatta chief in the service of Moattiber Khan, tannadaar of Kallean and fojedaur of Goolshunabad, maintained a body of robbers, and carried on an open traffick unmolested with merchants, for the effects plundered by his people, but he found means to evade the khan's displeasure.

Dhunnah's son now moved with intentions to infest the environs of the royal camp, but Zoolfeccar Khan, by forced marches hastening to Nerool, prevented his putting his design into execution. The fort of Kundaneh was now given up by the governor to the emperor for a sum of money. The enemy soon after this plundering in the neighbourhood of the imperial camp, Zoolfeccar Khan as often repulsed them as they dared to approach. About this
time

time negotiations were carried on by sultan Kaum Bukhsh with the enemy for a peace, and Raja Saooh was released from the Ruggelah Bar, and entrusted to the care of the prince; but the Mharattas, who now had acquired great strength, and plundered at pleasure all the provinces of Dekkan, were so insolent in their demands, that all thoughts of accommodation were soon again laid aside, and Raja Saooh remanded to his confinement. Zoolfeccar Khan was dispatched into Khandeshe, where nearly forty thousand Mharattas committed great depredations.

The emperor, after the fall of Kundaneh, cantoned in the town of Poonah; but, owing to the plunders of the enemy, grain was so dear in the royal camp, that only three seer could be had for a rupee. A great drought had also happened in all the provinces of Dekkan, so that there was little cultivation, and many of the inhabitants sought an asylum across the Nerbudda. The emperor's affairs visibly declined, and the enemy roamed at large in every quarter. Zoolfeccar Khan moved by rapid marches to the neighbourhood of Boorahanpore, when they fled into Berar; and Ghazi ad Dien Khan being entrusted with the protection of that province, he did not pursue them, but agreeable to the imperial orders marched to protect Aurungabad and Ahmednuggur.

Though provisions were beyond expression scarce in the royal camp, yet Aurungzebe marched from Poonah to besiege the fort of Raujeghur; and Sudder ad Dien Mahummud Zumman Khan, third bukhshi, was ordered to protect the grand baggage camp at Bahadur Ghur. Zoolfeccar Khan with a convoy of grain, of which he had collected a great quantity, arrived safely at the royal camp, and was promoted to additional rank for this service. The Mharattas in Berar, having completely defeated Rustum Khan, crossed the Nerbudda; upon which Ghazi ad Dien Khan marched after them, and orders were sent to the munsubdars of Malwa to collect and oppose them.

them. The prince Mahummud Bedar Bukht was also ordered to cross the Nerbudda, and Zoolfeccar Khan to protect Aurungabad and Boorahanpore, till his return.

Negotiations towards the settlement of a peace were still carried on, through the sultan Kaum Bukhsh, with Dhunnah Jadoo, who only entered into them to deceive and delay time. Neema Sindia, after crossing the Nerbudda, plundered the province of Malwa as far as Seronje. The forts of Raujeghur and Toorreaah fell to the royal arms.

Zoolfeccar Khan encamped on the banks of the Gung, and the prince Bedar Bukht marched towards Oojein, but cantoned for some time near Boorahanpore. The emperor, after the fall of Raujeghur, moved towards the fort of Sumber Chumber; but, on account of the rains, halted within fourteen coss. Raow Dulput escorted a large convoy of supplies as far as Ahmednuggur, in the way to the royal camp. Ali Nukkee, a grandson to the Persian emperor, being disgusted, fled to Surat, from whence he sent a petition to Aurungzebe, who invited him to court, and upon his arrival conferred upon him the command of three thousand horse, and the title of Mirza Suffavee Khan.

Zoolfeccar Khan detached Dulput Raow and Ram Sing Harrah in pursuit of the enemy, who had made incursions to the vicinity of Beejapore and Beelbuttah. They followed them from thence into Khandeshe, where they completely defeated and obliged them to evacuate that province entirely, taking a great number of their horses and arms; after which they returned to Aurungabad.

Neema Sindiah, who had quarrelled with Dhunnah, separated from him; and crossing the Nerbudda, as before mentioned, plundered the province of Malwa as far as Seronje, at the instigation of

the rebel raja Sutterfal Bondela; but they did not long agree together. The imperial orders had been sent for the prince Bedar Bukht to pursue the invader, but he was delayed, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan Feroze Jung, after punishing the Mharattas in Berar, left his baggage at Boorahanpore, and moved by quick marches to Seronje, from which the enemy fled before his arrival; but the khan wrote to court that he had gained a victory, which pleased the emperor so much that he immediately conferred upon him the title of Sippach Sallar, and many favours on all his principal officers; but they were withdrawn on the truth being made known, and he returned to his government in Berar. Dulput Raow agreeably to the orders of Zoolfeccar Khan, conducted the family of the prince to Boorahanpore, and then returned. Roh Oollah Khan, grand steward of the imperial household and treasurer of the privy purse, son to the deceased nobleman of the same name, died about this time. The emperor himself was taken very ill, but recovered in a short time. A great scarcity of grain prevailed all through Dekkan. The imperial revenues, numerous elephants, and a vast caravan, having arrived from Hindoostan at Aurungabad, Raow Dulput and Ram Sing Harrah escorted them at two different times to Ahmednuggur and the imperial camp. Khodabundeh Khan, son to the late ameer al amra, who was sojedaur of Carnatic Beejapore, was called to the presence, and distinguished by the post of grand steward of the household. Two caravans, one soon after another, coming from Hindoostan towards Aurungabad, were both greatly plundered by the Mharattas near the pass of Ferdapore, so that the army, by these disasters and the waste of the jaghires by the enemy, were exceedingly distressed for all the necessaries of life. The Mharattas, by their frequent successful plunders, became very rich and powerful. A party even advanced close to the city of Hyderabad, with intentions to lay it waste. Dhunnah, Kunnoot, and Hundoo roamed at large in the Carnatic, where Daood Khan, an ameer of five thousand, deputy of Zoolfeccar Khan,

Khan, fought with them many battles. Though the emperor was in Dekkan, and above one hundred and seventy thousand horse were paid for by him in the camp and the provinces, yet they did not suffice. The powers of government became relax in every quarter. Aurungzebe moved from the cantonments of Ghur Kerroofs to punish Ponapah Pinder, who had rebelled in the districts of Wakin Kerah, and entertained evil designs upon Zuffirabad Bieder. The enemy made an attack on the imperial baggage near Bahadur Ghur, and acquired a great plunder, besides setting fire to great quantities of valuable effects. Their insolencies were greater than in the last year, so that the lands round all the capital cities were totally waste, and lay uncultivated. Neema Sindia made an attempt to advance to Banaras, through the country of Nagpore, but the zemindars united, and prevented his design. The Mharattas retook several fortresses that had lately submitted to the royal arms, but particularly the strong fort of Loeh Ghur. The prince Bedar Bukht had, agreeably to the imperial orders, gone to Oojein, so that there did not remain a force at Boorahanpore to furnish escorts for the caravans which came from Hindoostan; upon which Zoolfeccar Khan marched with his army to that city, and after punishing a body of the enemy, who were on the watch for plunder, conducted the treasure and supplies to Aurungabad. His force being but small, he was obliged to request a reinforcement for the defence of that city. Accordingly, Mogul Khan Toorancee was detached to join him for this purpose, and Zoolfeccar Khan, leaving him there, marched with a large convoy of treasure and supplies to the imperial camp.

The emperor was still engaged against the rebels of Wakin Kerah, but the roads all round were crowded with large bodies of the enemy; yet such was their dread of Zoolfeccar Khan, that, whenever he approached, they fled instantly to the distance of thirty five or forty coss; and he escorted his convoy in safety to the royal camp.

camp. The emperor encamped about a coss from the fort of Wakin Kerah, and ordered Cheen Koollich Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, Terbeut Khan, commander of the artillery and others, to conduct the siege. They accordingly raised two large mounds of earth near the gateway, which were immediately occupied by the troops of the sultan Mahummud Kaum Bukhsh. Cheen Koollich Khan attempted, but in vain, to get possession of a hill on another quarter of the fort, but was repeatedly repulsed by the enemy, who sallied out in great numbers. Hummeed ad Dien Khan also was obliged to quit his station, and with difficulty regained the camp. Dhunnah, with other chiefs, having collected about five thousand horse and five and twenty thousand foot, infested the neighbourhood. An entrenchment was drawn all round the royal camp. The enemy made such powerful sallies from the fort, daily and nightly throwing rockets, that not a single person durst venture out of the camp. Detachments from it were repeatedly defeated, and the distress for grain and forage became pinching to the last degree. The cause of these disgraces was, that the present race of amras, out of avarice, folly, and inexperience, neglected the veterans and their sons, and mounted as cavalry their own timid, slothful, menials and slaves, whose fighting and running away became synonymous terms. The deceitful Pinderrehs made proposals of peace, through the prince Kaum Bukhsh and Cheen Koollich Khan; but, though the emperor repeatedly disapproved of them, they still continued their importunate solicitations, and indeed all the amras were alarmed at the enemy's encreasing superiority.

At this time, Zoolfeccar Khan was on his march with supplies from Aurungabad. The emperor sent repeated orders to hasten him and Daood Khan to the presence; and, for the present, regarding the fears of the amras about his person, seemingly listened to the proposals of the enemy, and bestowed khelauts on Ponapah, with

an

an elephant, and gave some jewels to his mother. Mohtushum Khan was sent into the fort as kelladaar. Zoolfeccar Khan being arrived at the imperial camp, was graciously received by Aurungzebe, who ordered him immediately to march against the Mharattas and Pinderreh's. The khan, accordingly, with Raow Dulput, Ram Sing Harrah, and other chiefs, moved to the spot where the besieged had repulsed Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and reconnoitred it carefully. The enemy, confiding in the natural strength of the place and their numbers, made a great shew of resistance; but the khan soon drove them away with a very great slaughter, upon which they fled for shelter to Tulwarreh, close under the hill near the gate of the fort. Zoolfeccar drove other bodies from several posts, killing great numbers of the enemy, and losing several of his own men, who gallantly pursued too near the ditch. Cheen Koollich Khan, who remained all the while an inactive spectator, and who, if he had joined in the assaults, might have been of great service, complained on his return that he was not assisted by Zoolfeccar Khan, and was believed by his majesty. The next day Zoolfeccar Khan went to fix on proper places for erecting batteries, and a body of horse and foot came out to oppose him, but were soon repulsed by Dulput Raow, and fled to the hill. Some days after this, Daood Khan Punnee joined from the Carnatic, and Zoolfeccar Khan with his troops and some other amras gained possession of two eminences near the gate. Jumsheed Khan, an ameer of five thousand, was killed by a ball in the attack. Day and night were now employed in erecting batteries. Intelligence arrived, that Kunnoput, who was advancing with a large body of Mharattas to relieve the fort, had died on the march, and that the lately conquered fort of Kundaneh was retaken by the enemy. The besieged, who were now greatly alarmed at the gallantry and success of Zoolfeccar Khan, made serious proposals of submission; and the prince Kaum Bukhsh with Cheen Koollich Khan were ordered to examine them, and manage the negotiation; but
this

this did not prevent Zoolfeccar Khan, who was not to be diverted by their stratagems, from carrying on vigorous hostilities. He divided his army into two bodies, and with one, in person, attacked the town of Tulwarreh, close under the fort, which he carried, after a very bloody assault. The enemy then took shelter in the fort, and annoyed the troops with rockets and musquetry from the walls, but to no purpose; so that in the evening Ponapah, with the Mharatta chiefs, being quite disheartened, made their escape by a private road behind the fort. Raow Dulput seeing that all firing from the walls had ceased, and hearing no noise, ventured up to the fort, and finding it empty, set the houses on fire. Munsoor Khan was ordered to take possession, and Zoolfeccar Khan sent to inform and congratulate the emperor. The fire continued burning the whole night and the next day, when a magazine of powder blew up, and killed many people. An accident of the same kind happened the next day also. The fort of Wakin Kerah is of no great strength, but requires a very large garrison to defend it.

Zoolfeccar Khan was not properly rewarded for this victory, the praise of which was bestowed upon others, who had no share in it, yet had the address to make the emperor reprove the khan for having let the enemy escape unmolested. The royal ear indeed had long been possessed by a few designing men, who diverted him from attending to his most useful servants, which gave much disgust, and weakened the affections of the army to the royal person.

Zoolfeccar Khan was sent to punish the zemindars about Koolburga and Khankernee, and to escort the imperial elephants and horses to Aurungabad. Terbeut Khan was dispatched with an army to retake Kundaneh, about three coss from which the emperor now erected cantonments. Zoolfeccar Khan, after settling the contributions of Koolburga and other places, moved to Aurungabad, where he

he remained some time, and dispatched Mogul Khan with treasure and supplies to the imperial camp. Intelligence arriving that Neema Sindia was plundering the pergunnah of Bertoo, five and twenty coss from Aurungabad, though Zoolfeccar Khan had sent great part of his troops to escort treasure to the royal camp, he did not wait for their return, but moved by forced marches, and the enemy fled as he approached. He did not give over the pursuit, but followed them to their baggage camp, to defend which they made a stand, and were completely defeated, with the loss of several of their chiefs, and all their baggage and plunder fell into the hands of the victors, who returned in triumph to Aurungabad. This was that body of the enemy who had laid waste the province of Malwa as far as Seronje.

Zoolfeccar Khan was again summoned to the imperial presence, but being taken ill, was obliged to delay his march for some time. Upon his recovery he obeyed, and had an audience of the emperor at Bahadur Ghur, who had moved there to keep the Ramazan. Seyadut Khan, who had gone out to hunt with a small party from the camp, was made prisoner by a body of the enemy. The emperor at this time was taken dangerously ill; upon which the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was called with great haste from Guzarat to the presence.

Zoolfeccar Khan with Terbeut Khan, meer atush, was sent with a considerable army to retake Kundaneh; and raja Saooh, Sambah's son, who had been confined long in the Ruggelah Bar, was delivered over to his custody. Roy Bhan Bhoosela Mharatta, who had been raised to the rank of six thousand, was also sent with him, in hopes that by his means the other chiefs might be prevailed upon to submit and conclude a peace. Zoolfeccar Khan entrusted the guard over Raja Saooh to fyed Ghuzunfir Khan. The emperor gave instructions, that as dissensions had now broken out among the Mharattas,

Mharattas, letters should be written from Raja Saoooh to invite them to submit. This was done, but without effect. Ten thousand were struck off from the rank of sultan Kaum Bukhs, who had been guilty of some undutiful behaviour.

Aurangzebe marched from Bahadur Ghur to Ahmednuggur, and on the route the enemy committed great insults on the line. Hummeed ad Dien Khan was ordered to repulse them; but he committed the charge to his officers, who were soon defeated, and many of them taken prisoners. The enemy then charged the baggage, and carried off a vast plunder; but when the emperor's train came in sight, they, as if struck with awe at the tremendous pomp of majesty, retired and looked on quietly at a distance, which was at this period the greatest good fortune. The royal camp halted under the walls of Ahmednuggur. Gopal Raow Chandraowt, being much distressed in his circumstances, deserted to the enemy.

Dhunnah Jadoo, Neema Sindia, and Odooah Mulhar, with other Mharatta chiefs, surrounded the imperial camp at Ahmednuggur, but were bravely repulsed and obliged to fly by Khan Aulum, son of Khan Zummaun. Zoolfeccar Khan reduced the fort of Kundaneh, and the besieged capitulated through the mediation of Ram Sing Harrah, at whose request they were allowed to depart in safety.

There are above an hundred fine wells in this fort. Munfoor Khan was appointed kelladaar, but proper stores of provisions could not be spared for its support; and this was the case with all the forts which had been taken in Dekkan, where the long wars and continual depredations had rendered all the necessaries of life exceedingly scarce. The prince Mahummud Azim Shaw arrived from Guzarat at Ahmednuggur, and had an affecting meeting with the emperor.

Ibrahim

Ibrahim Khan, son of the late Alimerdan Khan, was removed from the government of Cashmire and appointed to that of Guzarat, of which the prince Bedar Bukht was ordered to take charge until his arrival, and punish the rebel Anoomund, who, from being a seller of drams, had practised robbing, and by his successes raised himself to the command of a large body of banditti, with whom he had joined the Mharattas. This rebel, on the departure of Azim Shaw, finding Guzarat unprotected, had entered the province, where he defeated and took prisoner Nuzzer Ali Khan, the fojedaar of Brodrah, a very wealthy town, inhabited by capital merchants and bankers, whom he plundered of an immense booty, and made a secure retreat with his prize.

Great bodies of banditti plundered at discretion about Aurungabad, and the zemindars of Multan and Tatta rebelled, but were quelled by sultan Moiz ad Dien, who on this occasion displayed great gallantry and conduct. Khan Aulum was sent to protect the province of Malwa, and Nijabut Khan and Zoolfeccar Khan were both ordered to drive the enemy from Aurungabad. Zoolfeccar Khan sent his baggage into Ahmednuggur, and moved by forced marches, but upon his arrival near Payen Ghaut, he learned that the enemy had fled another way to the banks of the Gung. Ghazi ad Dien Khan had remained all this while inactive, only ten cofs from the enemy's camp. Zoolfeccar Khan still pursued them without remission, and at last they crossed the Beemrah into their own districts; upon which, finding the country clear and the rains setting in, he returned to the imperial camp. His troops in this pursuit suffered every hardship from want of provisions and excessive fatigue. He next marched towards the fort of Moorje, upon which Dhunnah crossed the Kistnah. Intelligence arrived, that Ponapah Pinderreh and Hindoo Raow had possessed themselves of the fort of Bilcondah, belonging to Beejapore, and taken the kelladaar prisoner; also that the fort of Buf-

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sunt Ghur had fallen into their hands. Daood Khan recovered the former to the imperial possession. Seyadut Khan procured his release from the enemy for a large sum of money, but he was rendered blind of both eyes from the wounds he had received. Zoolfeccar Khan encamped, on account of the rains, within twelve coss of Moorje, but was so distressed for provisions that his cavalry became almost unfit for service.

When Shaw Jehaun sent the sultan Dara Shekkoh against Candahar, he gave the soldiery two years' pay in advance, and sent two years of grain with the army. During his whole reign, the single war of the rana was the only one that gave trouble. Aurungzebe's reign had been a continued war, and now, even in the royal camp at Ahmednuggur, notwithstanding the vicinity of the Kistnah, scarce any provisions could be obtained.

Zoolfeccar Khan after the rains pursued Dhunnah, who fled to the Beejapore country, and the khan followed him to the banks of the Kistnah. The Pinderrehs took Velore, which however was soon again retaken by Terbeut Khan. Sultan Mahummud Akber died this year in Persia. A great caravan, very rich, coming from Aurungabad was totally plundered, and every thing carried off by a body of Mharattas, at only twelve coss distance from the imperial camp.

The prince Mahummud Kaum Bukhsih was promoted, honoured with presents, and appointed to the soubadary of Beejapore; and at parting, the emperor, weeping, permitted him to beat the nobut from the gate of the palace. The twenty first of the same month, Zeehidge, the prince Mahummud Azim Shaw was dispatched towards Malwa. Rama's widow, who had great power among the Mharattas, wished to confine Hindoo Raow, but he took refuge

fuge in the fort of Koorkul. Dhunnah plundered all his effects, and closely besieged him; upon which he sent to beg assistance of Zoolfeccar Khan, who crossed the Kistnah, and, leaving his baggage in the fort of Sundeo, marched against Dhunnah, who fled upon his approach, when Hindoo Raow took shelter in his own country, and Zoolfeccar Khan then retreated.

A few days after this the emperor was seized with his last illness, which encreased every hour, and alarming reports prevailed; till on Friday, the twenty eighth of Zeekaud, in the fiftieth year and second month of his reign, he left this vain life of toil, for one of blissful repose. A. H. 1118. A. D. 1707.

END OF AURUNGZEBE's OPERATIONS IN DEKKAN.



PART IV.
HISTORY
OF
AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS,
BY
ERADUT KHAN.

ALCOCK

PART IV

A large number of the specimens of the
fossil plants found in the strata of the
lower part of the Silurian system are
of the same kind as those found in the
strata of the Devonian system. The
specimens of the fossil plants found in the
strata of the Devonian system are of the
same kind as those found in the strata of the
Silurian system. The specimens of the fossil
plants found in the strata of the Devonian
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Devonian system are of the same kind as those
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in the strata of the Silurian system.

APOLOGY.

A GREAT number of the Memoirs of Eradut Khan having been formerly printed off in the year 1786, and sufficient remaining on hand for the purpose, I hope my readers will excuse their being bound up in the order of connection and time. To my liberal friends, the regular numbering of pages will, I trust, be of less moment than the contents; the reprinting of which would have added very greatly to my expense, and but little to their accommodation; especially as Eradut Khan gives a much more satisfactory account of transactions than any other writer of the same period, whom I could have translated in his place.

The following account of the author of the Memoirs is taken from the 'Masseer al Amra, or Biography of Nobility, written by Sumsam ad Dowlah Shaw-nowauz Khan, prime minister to Sullabut Jung, brother and predecessor in power to the present Nazim of Dekkan.

Meer

* Which I had not seen, till favoured with it lately by Mr. R. Johnson, who, in his residency with the nizam at Hyderabad, collected many curious Persian manuscripts relative to Dekkan, which he with great liberality has permitted me to make use of.

Meer Moobaric Oollah Eradut Khan Wazeh, was the son of * Ifauk Khan, son of Azim Khan. Both his grandfather and father were noblemen of high rank. The former was Meer Bukhshi to the emperor Jehaungeer, and the latter held various offices of importance under Shaw Jehaun and Aulumgeer. He died soon after his appointment to the government of Oude. His title was also Eradut Khan. One of his sons (our author) had his title conferred upon him, and in the thirty third year of Aulumgeer was appointed fojedaur of Jagneh, and at other periods, of Aurungabad and Mando in Malwa. In the reign of Shaw Aulum he was governor of the Doab, and the intimate friend of Moazim Khan Vizier. He died in the time of Ferokhsere. His abilities as a poet were great, and he left a volume of poems behind him. His son was honoured by the title of Hoshedaur Khan, and afterwards with that of Eradut Khan, and the fojedaury of Doohiperayeah in the province of Malwa. In the sixth year of Mahummud Shaw, he attended Afoph Jah to Dekkan, and after the victory over Mubariz Khan was appointed dewan of Dekkan, with the rank of four thousand. He was afterwards governor of Koolburga, and died in the year 1157, [A. D. 1744.] He had many sons, most of whom died in his life time. His eldest surviving son, Hafiz Khan, succeeded him in the government of Koolburga, which he held at the time Shaw-nowauz Khan wrote the Biography of the Amras.

* Afterwards entitled Keffaiut Khan.

M E M O I R S
OF THE
M O G U L E M P I R E,
BY
ERADUT KHAN WAZE H.

I SHALL begin my narration from the time of my removal from the command of the fortrefs of 'Imteeauz Gur. For the duties of that office I had entertained numerous followers, a tenth of a tenth of whom, the suddenness of my recall rendered me incapable of paying; but, as my life was yet to remain, I made my ² escape from among them in the best manner I could, with my family.

On account of my distressed circumstances, and the great distance of my late command from the Imperial camp, in order that I

¹ An important fortrefs in Dekkan, or the southern part of Hindostan. It is called Oodneh by the Hindoos, and is now in possession of the Mharattas, who retook it soon after the death of the Emperor Aulumgeer.

² To be obliged to fly from their own troops, is frequently the case with the nobles of Hindostan, on recall from office, or other emergency, as they generally keep up more than they can pay with regularity.

might take some repose, his majesty had conferred upon me the government of 'Ahffunabad Koolburgah, where I remained one month; and then, leaving my dearest son, 'Huddaiut Oolla, as my deputy in that station, I proceeded with a few followers to the 'Stirrup. I had the honour of an audience in 'Pargur, while his majesty was engaged in the reduction of 'Kundaneh. He shewed me much favour, nor had any change taken place in his esteem and regard towards me. I was stationed, during the siege, four coss distant from the camp, on the only road of communication then left, as I had been successfully employed on the like service, since the commencement of the reduction of Dekkan, at 'Beejapore, 'Hyderabad, and other places. Though the enemy now was very numerous, and plundered even to the skirts of the camp, yet, by the divine assistance, I maintained my post with a very trifling force. For this service, I was honoured with much applause by his majesty, and my reputation with the public became high. Additional rank was also conferred, as a reward, on my dearest son, and other relations, at Koolburgah.

¹ A city, formerly the capital of the Bhamenee sovereigns of Dekkan, Ferishta's History of whom, and the succeeding Dynasties, has been translated, and will one day be offered to the public, should their approbation await this attempt. It is now of little note, and in possession of the Nizam.

² Anglicè, directed by God.

³ Meaning the emperor's person, when travelling.

⁴ A fortrefs in Dekkin.

⁵ Another in ditto.

⁶ Once the capital of the Adil Shawee Sultans of Dekkan, and celebrated for its magnificence. It was reduced by Aulumgeer, with all the dependencies, except what the famous Mharatta chief, Sewajee, who was a rebellious vassal of this monarchy, had wrested from it. It is now ruined, and in possession of the Mharattas. Europeans have generally written it Vissapour, but the Mussulmauns as above.

⁷ This city was the capital of Golconda and Koottub Shawee sultans, the last of whom was taken prisoner by Aulumgeer, and his kingdom reduced. It is now one of the capitals of the Nizam, who is however obliged to share the revenues with the Mharattas.



After the reduction of ¹ Kundaneh and ² Raujegur, the emperor moved to another quarter. He had desired several of the principal nobility to accept the command of the latter, as it was of importance, and but newly conquered; but it being a post only of difficulty, they had all requested to be excused. One evening therefore he sent for me, and my son ³ Moraud Khan, and when I had entered the presence, said, "I wish to send thee to Raujegur, art thou willing to go?" I replied, that his slave was ready; upon which he gave me part of the coffee before him, and ordered that, having drank it in the ⁴ Aubdar Khauneh, I should come back, and receive my dismissal. When I returned to the presence, his majesty gave me his blessing, two hundred mhors, and one coin weighing one hundred ⁵ mhors, with two horses to me and my son, and five for my bretheren. Two hundred bullock loads of grain were also ordered with me; and the following day, after morning prayer, I departed. At taking leave, his majesty promised that I should be relieved before the rainy season, then about two months distant.

By the auspices of the divine blessing, I arrived in safety at my station in eight days, and remained there forty; during which, from the solitude and romantic situation of the place, my leisure passed in pleasingly enthusiastic contemplation. ⁶ Munfoor Khan was then

¹ A fortress in Dekkan.

² Another in ditto.

³ Anglicè, object of desire.

⁴ The place in which water, sherbets, &c. are cooled in ice or saltpetre.

⁵ Golden coins, of this and greater weight, were often given as marks of favour. Silver coins, of several hundred rupees value, were also in use; and there is one of them now in the British Museum, of which the ingenious Mr. Richardson has given a very full description, in his very learned work, the Persian and Arabic Dictionary.

⁶ Victorious. It is, perhaps, not yet quite unnecessary to mention, that every proper name or title of persons, in the Persian, and frequently in the Hindoo language,

then sent to relieve me, and his majesty wrote with his own hand on the firmaun of recall, that, agreeably to his promise, he commanded me to the presence; to which were added many gracious assurances of favour. I left Rauegur with the same force I had come; but as it was a great distance from the camp, and parties of the enemy were hovering abroad, at several places I was much pressed. On my arrival at the presence, I was received with great favour.

Being now again in the same situation as when I quitted Imteeauz Gur, (for my jagheer had been ruined by various depredations,) I was much distressed in my affairs, when his majesty, who was informed of every thing public and private, sent Ameer Khan to me with a message, importing, that, as distress had invaded my affairs, I had better seek a little repose in some settled office, and that he would confer upon me the Kelladaree and Fojedaree of Mandou, then held by Nowazulh Khan, who, though an ameer of three thousand, was unequal to the post.

My attachment and regard to his majesty were so great, that, observing his life verging to the close, I did not wish to quit the

is an epithet descriptive of some quality in them on whom it is conferred, or the donor supposes them to possess: but, of late years, titles of honour are become so common, as to lose their respect; and there are many victorious lords of Hindostan, who never saw a battle, or drew a sword against an enemy.

¹ Noble.

² Command of a garrison.

³ Military authority in a district, under which are the criminal courts of justice.

⁴ A very extensive fortress in the province of Malwa, of which it was the capital under the Patan sovereigns. It is now much decayed, and in possession of the Mharattas.

⁵ Possessing affability.

presence,

presence, fearful of never beholding him more, and therefore declined the offer; but, when my son and the women of my family heard of the refusal, they became immersed in grief, for the Soubah of Malwa was to them dear as their native place. The disappointment of my son was such, that he privately resolved to give up the service, and leave me; and my whole family were heartless and in despair. At length, overcome by their situation, and indeed they had justice on their side, I, in spite of my own grief, said to my son, "The power is in thy hands; I resign myself as a ransom for thy happiness." The soul of my life went the same evening to Ameer Khan, and informed him of my acceptance of this office. As that minister was pleased with my consenting on many accounts, he represented it to the emperor the same night, when the affair was settled. Alas! how can I express what passed within my own breast? The following morning, at the assembly of justice, his majesty bestowed upon me a horse and ² khelaut, and the same upon my son and grandson. It was also allowed me, at my particular request, to come daily to pay my respects at the presence, till the grants of my new office could be prepared; and though my posts of ³ Meer Tozuk and ⁴ Darogah of the Dekkan cavalry were given to others, yet, from his majesty's gracious favor, I was permitted to exercise the duties of them till I left the camp.

¹ It was a custom of the Mogul emperors to sit daily once, for the purpose of hearing and redressing the complaints of the people, and often twice; but this noble usage was discontinued by the successors of Aulumgeer, which tended greatly to lose them the respect of their subjects.

² An honorary dress given always to persons entering into office, and frequently by a superior to an inferior, as a mark of esteem. It is varied, in richness of materials, and number of garments, according to the rank of the receiver.

³ A marshal, whose business it is to preserve order in a procession, or line of march, and to report absentees.

⁴ Superintendant, who examines the number of men and horses, to check false musters.

On the evening before my departure, the emperor opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him, and said, "Absence now takes place between us, and our meeting again is uncertain. Forgive, then, whatever willingly, or unwillingly, I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, with sincerity of heart. As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly, or otherwise, thou mayest have done against me." Upon hearing these expressions, my sobs became like a knot in my throat, so that I had not power to speak. At last, after his majesty had repeatedly pressed me, I made shift to pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and, after blessing me, ordered me to retire. Sorrow lay so heavy upon my mind, that, upon my arrival at ¹ Aurungabad, I was seized with a violent illness; but, as my borrowed life was not yet required, the soul and body did not separate. Until my arrival at Mandou, I was unable to move, without help, from my bed to my seat. My son remained in the fort with me only one night, and then departed for his command at ² Koterree Perrayah. I remained one year immersed in the same grief and sorrow.

The prince Mahummud ³ Bedar Bukht being appointed to the government of Malwa, I paid my respects to him at ⁴ Oojein. In

¹ A considerable city, founded by Aulumgeer before his accession to the throne, near the celebrated fortress of Dowlutabad in Dekkan. He named it Khojesteher Boonniah, or The Happy Mansion; but the people called it Aurungabad, in compliment to his title of Aurungzebe, by which Aulumgeer was distinguished before he seized the empire.

² A district in Malwa.

³ Signifying wakeful star, or propitious fortune. He was the eldest son of Azim Shaw.

⁴ Supposed to be one of the oldest cities in India, and is at present the capital of Malwa, and of Mahajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief.

a short time, such a friendship grew between us, that a greater between a prince and subject cannot be conceived. He would not be an instant without me: he would not eat of any thing, but he sent me part of it: he did nothing of importance without asking my advice, and considered my opinion as religiously decisive. In short, the particulars of his favour are beyond relation; but, on this account, I became envied by all his dependants.

Soon after this, the illustrious prince Mahummud¹ Azim Shaw, coming from Guzarat to visit the emperor, passed through Malwa, on his route to² Ahmednuggur. From the favour he had beheld me in with his father, my attention to himself, and the unbounded praises of his son Bedar Bukht, he behaved to me in such a gracious manner, as to relate would occasion prolixity. When he had gone through Malwa, the government of Guzarat was conferred on Bedar Bukht, who departed for that province, and took me with him as far as the frontiers, beyond which I dared not pass without leave from the emperor. How shall I express his manner of parting? He made me promise to write him weekly, and said, that he would favour me as often with letters under his own hand, including every important occurrence, in order to have the benefit of my advice for his conduct. This sort of correspondence was kept up between us regularly, till the life of his majesty shadow³ of God arrived at an end. I must now relate some particulars of that important event⁴.

A.H. 1118..
A.C. 1707..
Feb. 21st.

The

¹ Signifying great king. He was the third by birth, but second surviving son of Aulumgeer.

² A considerable city of Dekkan, once the capital of the Nizam Shawee sultans, reduced to the Mogul yoke under Shaw Jehaun, but now under the Mharattas.

³ An epithet common to majesty, with all the orientals.

⁴ It may not be amiss to insert here two letters written by Aulumgeer to his sons, Azim Shaw and Kaum Bukht, a few days before his death.

The

The emperor, a few days before his death, with a strictness of command seldom to be enforced by monarchs at such a season, dispatched

To SHAW AZIM SHAW.

HEALTH to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling, (conscience,) but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing of me remains but skin and bone. My son, (Kaum Buksh,) though gone towards Beejapore, is still near; and thou, my son, art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem, Shaw Aulom, is far distant; and my grandson, (Azeem Ooshaun,) by the orders of God, is arrived near Hindostan. The camp and followers, helpless and alarmed, are, like myself, full of affliction, restless as the quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounty of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but, when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson, (Bedar Bukht,) whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Begum (his daughter) appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!

To the Prince KAUM BUKSH.

MY son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice, and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprizing Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of this caravan hath deserted me. The fever, which troubled me for twelve days, has left me. Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great; but, alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness, and my feet have lost the powers of motion.

MOGUL EMPIRE.

dispatched the prince Azim Shaw towards Malwa, and Kaum Buksh to his government of Beejapore. His reason for this proceeding was, that no feuds might arise upon his death, in an enemy's country, between his sons, to endanger the repose of his subjects. Had the two princes remained together in the camp, such would have been the case, as occurred afterwards on the death of Shaw Aulum, whose four sons were together in the camp, when, though not in an enemy's country, the families, fortunes and honour of a world became plunged in the depth of ruin.

Azim Shaw, though knowing the dangerous illness of his father, dared not disobey the orders of march. He departed from the camp, but his motions were slow and cautious; nor did the emperor press him to expedition, after the three first marches. He

The breath which rose, is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes, and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp, yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive, no care was taken; and now I am gone, the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shaw is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain, or their miseries fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son, to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shaw is still where he was, and his son is arrived near Hindostan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzarat. Hyaut al Nissa, who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odiporee, your mother, was a partner in my illness, and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill-treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Dara Shekkoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself; that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul; but I see that mine is departing.

A. H. 1118.
A. C. 1707.
Feb. 21st.

even said to Hummeed ad dien Khan, to whom he had committed the charge of his funeral rites, "Three days after my death, one of my sons will arrive in camp, and send my remains to Aurungabad in a proper manner." On Friday the twenty-eighth of Zeekaud, his majesty performed his morning devotions in company with his attendants; after which, as was frequently his custom, he exclaimed, "O that my death may happen on a Friday, for blessed is he who dieth on that day!" Soon after, he had occasion to retire. Upon his return towards his bed, he had begun the ² tiummum, as was always his custom till water for the ³ wuzzoo could be brought, and had made one sprinkling, when suddenly his most pure spirit fled from the narrowness of corporeal confinement, to the boundless expansion of the Most High. We are from God, and to God we must return. His hands remained clasped, and in motion, for some time after he had ceased to breathe. How can I express my own feelings? This much I know, that the kindness, favour and distinction, for fifty years, of that atom-cherishing sun to me, his humble slave, his great actions, his glory, his piety, his perseverance in virtue from youth to age, the revolutions of his reign, and all the wonderful events of time, rushed upon my memory at once in a sea of grief, and overwhelmed my heart, so that I forgot myself, and knew not what passed around me.

Azim Shaw, being informed of the event by his agents, and the nobles who affected to embrace his interest, arrived on the third

¹ Anglicè, Aider of the faith.

² A purification by sprinkling of dust over the body, ordered by Mahummud for the convenience of his followers inhabiting the dry deserts of Arabia, where water is too valuable for the poor to use on slight occasions.

³ Ditto with water.

M O G U L E M P I R E.

II

of ¹ Zeehudge at the camp at Ahmednuggur. He omitted no shew of affection and respect to his deceased father, but, like the orphans of those in humble life, shed many tears.

Many of the chief imperial servants, as ² Muttullub Khan, ³ Khoddabundeh Khan, ⁴ Terbeut Khan, and others, had a real attachment to Azim Shaw. Some neither loved or hated him; and a few, though they disliked, yet, from inability to oppose, prudently submitted to his authority. Three Mogul chiefs only delayed to come in to offer their allegiance, ⁵ Feeroze Jung, his son Cheen Koollich Khan, and ⁶ Mahummud Ameen Khan.

On the tenth of Zeehuge, 1118, Azim Shaw ascended the throne of empire amidst the usual rejoicings, and conferred favours on the nobility according to their stations, but on few in a manner affording satisfaction. Here I must be permitted to mention one or two instances of the wonderful accomplishment of the decrees of Providence. While he was only a prince, most of the nobility were attached to Azim Shaw, and regarded him as possessing every approved quality for empire; but almost immediately after his accession to the throne, the general opinion was altered, from his own conduct. He slighted the principal nobility, and betrayed great parsimony to the army, acting as if he had no occasion for their services. This proceeded from a vain belief that none dared to oppose him, and that his elder brother, Shaw Aulum, relin-

A.C. 1707.

¹ The twelfth month of the Arabian year.

² Anglicè, Object of the wish.

³ Slave of God.

⁴ Accomplished in manners and morals.

⁵ Fortunate in war.

⁶ Faithful in Mahummud.

MEMOIRS OF THE

quishing to him such a vast empire as Hindostan, without a struggle, would fly for safety to another clime. At the same time, he openly declared his jealousy of his own son, Bedar Bukht, whose favour with the late emperor had displeased him. He treated the old nobility with contempt, and would say publicly, that they were not fit for his service. He removed Terbeut Khan, a veteran and loyal general, from his command of the artillery, in the most insulting manner, without any notice, and conferred that important station on a young man of low rank among his creatures. In short, I cannot enumerate all the ill omens to the fortune of Azim Shaw, which proved the will of Providence to have decreed heaven bestowed empire to Shaw Aulum. He who prideth in himself is ruined. When the will of God hath decreed an event, all things aid the accomplishment.

Mahummud Kaum Buksh received intelligence of the emperor's death, on his third day's march from Ahmednuggur, and was immediately deserted by Mahummud Ameen Khan, and all the Too-raunee Moguls, though they had been purposely appointed for his protection, at this crisis, by Aulumgeer. In addition to this misfortune, 'Zoolfeccar Khan, his bitterest enemy, who had once confined him at the siege of 'Linjee, lay in his route with a considerable army, so that it was probable his person would be seized by this nobleman, in order to obtain the favour of the new emperor. Azim Shaw had dispatched orders to that effect; but Zoolfeccar Khan, either from policy or compassion, did not obey them, and Kaum Buksh arrived in safety at Beejapore, which he was al-

^a Anglicè, Lord of the destroying weapon. This was the name of a scymetar belonging to Ali, son-in-law to the prophet.

^b A celebrated fortress in the Carnatic.

lowed to keep, as his brother, being eager to quit Dekkan, did not endeavour to remove him.

Azim Shaw now proceeded with the Imperial camp towards Agra, by regular stages, as if the principal of a caravan; and taking the route of Toomree, quitted the broad and easy road of Akberpore, on his left; proving, by this imprudent step, that, when destiny is unfavourable, man always doeth that which is wrong. The route of Toomree was hilly, full of woods, and, for many long spaces, void of water; so that, during two days march, great numbers of men, women, children, and animals, perished through fatigue and thirst. It was remarked by numbers, at the time, that this foreboded evil to the fortune of Azim Shaw; for he had rashly neglected the example of his father Aulumgeer, who, when marching against Dara Shekkoh, had chosen the route of Akberpore.

I must now return to the affairs of Bedar Bukht, whom it was my fortune to join. This prince, on the death of Aulumgeer, received orders from his father, Azim Shaw, to march immediately from Guzarat, and proceed towards Lahore, to prevent the advance of Shaw Aulum from Cabul. Bedar Bukht had the greatest and most sincere affection for his grandfather, who equally loved him; and on that account the father and son became jealous of each other. Upon receipt of the melancholy news, he was overwhelmed with real grief, which dwelt long upon his mind; for, when I saw him afterwards at Oojein, he would frequently weep at recollection of his loss. In obedience to the orders of his father, he departed from Guzarat without delay, at the head of only three thousand

A most excellent and authentic account of this prince's adventures and misfortunes may be seen in Bernier's Travels, which are bound up in Churchill's and Lord Oxford's Collection of Voyages. Dow also details them; but I prefer Bernier's account, as more artless.

horse,

MEMOIRS OF THE

horse, his own dependants, and carried with him about thirty lacks of rupees in treasure, property of his own, not presuming to touch twenty lacks in the Imperial treasury, lest it should raise suspicions of his fidelity in the mind of his father. For the same reason, he made not any addition to his force, though he could with ease have raised a great army, and might have procured a ²corore of rupees from the bankers and venters, by way of loan, without oppression, as did Morda Bukh, when he marched from this province against Dara Shekko.

On the eve of his march, he dispatched a letter to me and several others on his route; but the couriers brought none to hand in due time, the public roads being guarded by officers, who had orders to search all messengers, and inspect letters. As the prince expected me on the frontiers of Malwa, he was much disappointed on his arrival there, and repeatedly exclaimed, "What can have happened, to prevent the coming of Eradut Khan?" My enemies, and several envious persons, took occasion to defame me, saying, that I would never join him; for, knowing the jealousy between him and his father, who was now emperor, I was gone to court his favour. In this manner did my enemies address him, till he arrived near Oojein; when, not finding me there, in spite of his regard and reliance upon me, suspicion found room in his mind of my fidelity.

¹ Two hundred thousand pounds.

² One million ditto.

³ Anglicè, Accomplisher of the wish. Youngest son of the emperor Shaw Jehan, and brother to Aulumgeer, who, having made use of him to attain the defeat of his elder brothers, confined him in the fortress of Gualiar, and afterwards had him put to death, on his being tried and condemned for murder, on the accusation of a dependant, whose father he had executed for some crime, when in power. Aulumgeer was obliged to displace the first judge before whom the cause was brought, as he refused to give sentence, saying, that a prince putting a man to death in the exercise of his authority, for a crime, ought not to be accounted murder.

At

At length, on the first of Mohirrim, the prince's letters were brought me altogether, and immediately after, having loaded a small tent and some necessaries on two trained camels, I departed from Mandou, leaving the fortrefs in charge of my dear relation and friend, Meer Sunjir.

A.H. 1119.
A.C. 1707.

The prince had been for some time encamped near Oojein, waiting for the lucky day to make his entry into that city, so that by chance I reached the camp at the instant of good fortune. He was moving in his nallekee towards the town, when he perceived me at a distance, and said to his attendants, "Is not that Eradut Khan that I see?" And was scarcely answered, when I came up. He stopped his train, and opening wide his arms, cried, "Come, come my friend! in expectation of whom my eyes have been stretched, even to dimness." I kissed his feet, and presented my offering. He pressed my head to his bosom, and taking off his neemi-asteen, put it on my shoulders. His first words were lamentations mingled with tears, for the deceased emperor his grandfather, for whom he knew the sincerity of my grief. He then ordered me to mount my horse, and ride near him; and, as we proceeded to the city, related all that had happened to himself, and his anxiety at not meeting me on the borders of the province. When I had satisfied him for my delay, he commanded those who had spoken against me to quit his presence, with much displeasure, and refused to admit them again for many days.

¹ The first month of the Arabian year.

⁴ A canopied litter peculiar to the princes, and allowed now and then to some few great officers of state. It is generally of rich materials, and often entirely of silver. It is carried on the shoulders of twelve or sixteen bearers, on three poles, one on each side, like our sedans, and the third running under the middle of the machine.

³ An upper robe with half-sleeves, commonly made of gold or silver tissue. For a prince, or person of high rank, to confer any part of his own dress on an inferior, is accounted a very great honour to the receiver.

Bedar.

Bedar Bukht did not remain in the palace of Oojein; but, after viewing the city, pitched his camp on the bank of the river, at about a coss distant. Here he was attended by 'Abdoollah Khan, the soubadar of Malwa, and continued one month and twenty days, expecting the arrival of his father, when that rash prince wrote him the following firmaun:

"Why have you not hastened on, nor sunk the boats in the
 "Suttulludge, to prevent the approach of the enemy? Though
 "he dare not face me, yet you have been guilty of high neglect."

Soon after my arrival in camp, the prince sent a 'Nisshaun, with the following words in his own hand, to my dear son 'Huddaiut Oollah Khan, then Fojedaur of a district of about two days journey from Oojein:

"Your father, one of my most esteemed dependants, attends
 "the stirrup. I am surprized that you have not as yet come to the
 "presence."

My son, in reply, wrote to the prince, that he should shortly seek the honour of an audience; but privately to me, desiring that I would represent to his highness, what respect would not permit him to mention himself. This was, that though I had no force under me, yet my attendance and advice might be of use; but that he, unless at the head of troops, could do no service; that he had then with him two thousand veteran soldiers, all his followers for twenty years, who would accompany him without the limits of his

* Slave of God.

* One of the five great rivers between Cabul and Lahore.

* The letters of the emperor are styled firmauns, those of princes, nisshauns.

* Directed by God.

government.

government. Of these he had sent a return to the prince, whom he would immediately attend, on the advance of a month's pay to enable him to march; but without that they must be excused.

His highness, in answer to this message, said to me, "To give Huddaiut Oollah this sum, or much greater, I would not hesitate; but, alas! should I call in such a force, as your attachment to me has been represented to my father in a suspicious view by interested persons, he would instantly, on the junction of your son's troops, be convinced of my disloyalty, and turn his arms from Shaw Aulum against me. Write this to your son." I did so; and he declined coming to the camp, writing to me the following words: "I resign you to the protection of a gracious God, since I am prevented by my ill-fortune from paying my duty in person. I wish you could leave the party with which you are engaged, as I see destiny will to it prove unfavorable." God be praised, that from his prudent caution, my dear son remained secure from the ensuing troubles.

Bedar Bukht, agreeable to the orders of his father, moved towards Agra, and was joined from the presence by Zoolfeccar Khan, Ram Sing Harrah, zemindar of ¹Koteh, and Dulput ²Bonedela, also Amaun Oolla Khan, who were sent by Azim Shaw,

¹ A principal zemindary in Malwa, now much circumscribed by the Mharattas, who allow the raja, a descendant of Ram Sing's, but a very small proportion of his lands.

² The Bonedela tribe of Rajapootes are the possessors of Bonedelcund, an extensive tract, lying partly in the Agra, and partly in the province of Allahabad. Their proper chief, the raja of Oorcha, descended from Ber Sing Deo, the founder of the family importance, possesses but little territory, far the greatest part having been wrested from his house by Chutterfaul, one of a younger branch of the Bonedelas, whose descendants now hold his estates jointly with the Mharattas, who have a third part of the lands, and produce of the diamond mines of Pirna.

as much to guard the prince's motions as to assist him. ¹ Meerza Raja Jey Sing, ² Khan Aulum a Dekkan chief, with his brother ³ Munnower Khan, and other officers, also joined from the presence, with about six thousand horse.

The prince ⁴ Mahummud Azeem Ooshawn, who had, by Aulumgeer's orders, left his government of Bengal to proceed to the presence, had reached the vicinity of Agra, when he heard of the emperor's decease; upon which he marched to secure that city for his father, Shaw Aulum. ⁵ Mukhtar Khan, the soubadar, who was attached to Azim Shaw, and father-in-law to Bedar Bukht, hoping to impede his progress, sunk all the boats in the Jumna, and placed guards at the nearest fords. But, alas! what power had such a vassal to face the son of his decreed sovereign? The prince moved higher up, and having crossed the river, took him prisoner; but regarding his former services, and those of his

¹ Zemindar of a considerable territory in the province of Ajmere, named Ambeer; but since this prince's founding a new city called Jeypore, the rajaship has also taken that name. Jeypore is reckoned the most regular built city in Hindostan; and Europeans, who have seen it, speak highly of its magnificence. Jey Sing was a great encourager of science, and built several observatories for astronomical studies. He also erected a caravanferai and market in every province of Hindostan, for the convenience of travellers, at his own expence. The present raja of Jeypore, his grand-nephew, possesses the city, but not much territory, part of which has been seized by vassals of his family, and part by the Mharattas and Mogul chiefs, to both of whom he is tributary. Jeypore is the great mart for horses from Persia and the northern provinces of Hindostan; and the old citadel of Ambeer, close to it, is said to contain vast wealth laid up by Jey Sing. This will probably one day fall into the hands of the Mharattas, if they are not soon diverted from their operations in this part of India, by troubles in Dekkan, that shall furnish them employment nearer home.

² Anglicè, Lord of the world.

³ Enlightened lord

⁴ Anglicè, Of high dignity; second son of Shaw Aulum, the eldest surviving son of Aulumgeer.

⁵ Anglicè, Powerful lord.

family,

family, did not offer him personal injuries. It had as yet been the usage of the princes of this illustrious house, though a nobleman according to his connections with one of them, appeared against another in the field, that the victor did not put him to death, or disgrace him. On the contrary, the fidelity and valour displayed by him, in the cause of a defeated rival, were sure recommendations to the conqueror's favour. The princes knew that the stability of power and regulation of empire rested on the support of an experienced nobility, and they would frequently observe, "that their enmity was not to the throne; for whenever a prince became fixed upon it, they were faithful subjects. If then we destroy them, through whom can we administer the government." By this wise policy of the Imperial family, the rules and order of the extensive empire of Hindostan remained uninjured by the quarrels of the princes.—But to return to my subject.

When Mahummud Bedar Bukht approached the banks of the Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived near Gualiar, Azeem Ooshawn detached a considerable body from Agra, under Motushum Khan, to guard the fords. Bedar Bukht was fond of enterprize, jealous of his honour, and of high mind tempered with prudence. A rivalry for glory had always subsisted between him and his father, Azim Shaw, who was of rash courage, and never looked beyond the present in his conduct. Like the whicker-twisting vaunters

¹ A river in the province of Agra.

² One of the most celebrated fortresses of Hindostan, an elegant plate of which, with the account of its capture by a detachment under colonel Popham, in 1780, has been given to the public by major Rennell; but another, on a larger scale, with a more minute description of the place, is now preparing by the ingenious Mr. W. Hodges, well known for his drawings under Captain Cook, and for his views of places in India, taken by himself on the spot.

³ Dignified.

⁴ The twist of the whickers in India, and the outrageous cock of the hat in England, are alike characteristic.

of Hindostan, if his son made any delay on his march, he would jest and sneer, attributing it to cowardice, and dread of the enemy. On this account, Bedar Buhkt resolved to cross the Chumbul immediately, and attack the posts of Motushum Khan; but this proceeding was strongly opposed by Zoolfeccar Khan, an experienced general of approved conduct; upon which a strange contention took place, which is worthy of relation.

A number of low-minded persons, vain and imprudent, such as are too frequently the favorites of princes, who thought themselves capable antagonists for the nobility of Azeem Oshawn, regarding this as a fit opportunity to shew their loyalty and attachment, interfered in the conduct of affairs. As Zoolfeccar Khan, in the opinion of some, was suspected of treachery, they seized this occasion to persuade the prince that he corresponded with Shaw Aulum, and wished to delay engaging till his approach, in order to complete his designs of desertion to his cause. God only knows the heart, and perhaps it might have been so; but, in the eye of understanding, good policy alone seemed to influence his conduct in this affair.

When he was informed that the prince had resolved on crossing the river the next morning, he repeatedly represented, through the proper officers, that such a step was by no means adviseable at the present crisis; but the prince refused to take his opinion. Upon this, Zoolfeccar Khan went himself to his highness's tents, and requested an audience, setting forth, that he had affairs of importance to communicate; but the prince would not admit him, and sent word, that nightly council was unlucky, therefore he must wait till the morning. I had heard of Zoolfeccar Khan's advice during the day, and of the prince's dissent, but knew not what had passed at night; for I made it a rule never to go to his councils, unless

unless called upon ; and his highness had never failed, till now, to send for me. It happened, that I had been this day to visit Zoolfeccar Khan, at his earnest request, but not a word on the affair in debate passed between us. Some envious persons, however, took this occasion to persuade the prince, that I was a partner with the general ; and, notwithstanding his conviction of my fidelity, his highness, in his present humour, believed them. Hence it is, that the ancients observed, “ We should never rely on the favour of
“ princes ; for when their minds are disgusted, though without
“ cause, a thousand years of confidence may be destroyed in one
“ instant of suspicion.”

The day following, suddenly, before morning prayer, the march of battle was sounded, and the prince, completely armed, mounted the elephant which he always rode in the day of action. I was at my devotions, when I heard the drums ; but dressing myself in haste and astonishment, I speeded to attend him. He had moved some distance from the tents before I came up. I found him, with an angry countenance, and contemptuous exclamation, uttering reproachful terms of Zoolfeccar Khan, as deceiver, traitor, false wretch, and the like, to some servile attendants round his elephant ; but, on perceiving me, he became silent, and looked more displeased. According to custom, I alighted from my horse to make my obeisance, of which he took no notice, nor spoke, nor smiled upon me as he was wont to do, but turned his head another way. Though much hurt at this flight, I took my station as usual on his right hand, close to the ear of his elephant, and ruminated on the change in his behaviour, while my enemies, who during the night had formed this ‘ telism,’ were rejoicing all around at my distress. Though his highness did not speak to them after my

Charm, or talisman.

arrival,

arrival, yet I judged, by their exulting, and winking to one another, that somewhat highly pleasing to them had happened.

Just then, Zoolfeccar Khan sent an officer to request I would attend him; for he hoped that, at my desire, the prince would alter his intention of passing the river. I informed his highness of the officer's coming, for I never visited any of the nobility without permission. Upon this, he angrily exclaimed, "Go! 'Your quiver also hangs at his belt!'" I then desired the officer to return, and tell what he had heard, as I could not go; but the prince, with a furious aspect, cried out, "Be gone! Why don't you go to your friend?" At beholding this, a giddiness seized my brain, and I became distracted; for I never expected such words from him, whose favour I thought sincere, and prided myself on deserving, by my fidelity. I became raging, rash, and impetuous, and said, "What business can I, the humblest of the humble, have with nobles of Zoolfeccar's exalted rank? He was the first general of your grandfather; but your father has now detached him under your command, and certainly the power is at present in your hands, to treat him as you please." His highness, upon this, more angrily than ever, exclaimed, "Surely the emperor hath not made you my tutor!" What shall I say? Heaven and earth seemed to fall at once upon my shoulders, and I wished to die that instant; but these words involuntarily slipped from my tongue: "What is my ability, to become tutor to a prince like your highness? Yet, should the trust be offered me, I would rather fly from society with a shorn head, than accept it." To this he made no reply, and I quitted his person without ceremony.

* An idiomatical expression, signifying that he was attached to his party.

I had not gone far, when the generous, forbearing, patient and benevolent prince, cherisher of his friends, sent to me the 'daroga of his khowaus, to say, as from himself, "What troublesome dreams hath my friend seen, to disorder his imagination, and make him rave? Know you not, that spies have prejudiced my father against you, as my adviser? Therefore, as much contention passed last night, between me and Zoofeccar Khan, and I have just now insulted that deceitful traitor, I spoke angrily to you also, to remove suspicion of my treatment of him proceeding from your counsel, not supposing you could misapprehend me." Upon this, I stopped till the prince came up, when he called me to him, and smiling, whispered in my ear, "I have beheld your deep penetration." I replied, "I did not expect such expressions from your highness." He answered, "I also wished to try your patience, my friend, who pretend to so much prudence, with such heat and passion." Having said this, he took from his neck a large cornelian of 'Yemmun, on which were engraved some prayers in a beautiful character, and giving it to me, said aloud, "Admire this graving!" at the same time nodding that I should keep it; but I returned it, signifying privately, that the gift was improper before so many envious witnesses. At length, my late exulting and mean-spirited enemies, seeing me again in favour, retired to a distance, and left me to converse with his highness; who then said, "Surely you must have forgotten what my father wrote to me, concerning you, three days since, and my answer to his majesty!" That affair I will relate.

The prince had three days before received a firmaun under his father's own hand, and I went with him to meet it, agreeable to custom. About midnight, he sent for me again, and carried me

* Overseer of domestic attendants.

* Arabia Felix.

into

into the sleeping apartment of his 'mahal, where he had been sitting with the mother of ' Bedar Dil, who retired as I came in, to another chamber. He gave me the firmaun, and desired me to read it. In it was written, in Azim Shaw's own hand, the following sentence: " You are day and night consulting with Eradut Khan; " I wish to know for what purpose!" When I had returned the paper, his highness asked what was fit to write in answer.

I replied, " I am your servant. Dismiss me for the present, " and when my duty is requisite, I will instantly return." He exclaimed, " You must not leave me; but some answer must be " written. I will attempt one; but you must also compose " another, and we will send that we both approve." He then gave me pen, ink and paper, from his standish, and seated me at a lamp. He wrote, and I wrote. When we had finished, it appeared, on comparison, that we had both written the same, almost without the difference of a word, as follows:

" It must be remembered in the sacred mind, that your majesty, " in passing through Malwa to the presence of the ' Shadow of " God, said to your slave, *Eradut Khan is our household servant,* " *truly loyal, wise and experienced. I give him to you, that, when* " *important affairs shall come in agitation, you may consult with him.* " Health to your majesty! What crisis of affairs can be more im- " portant than the present? According to the orders founded in " benevolence, I do consult with him daily, on all affairs public " and private. I know not what suspicions those admitted to the " presence may have formed of this faithful servant, but, were " they communicated to me, I could remove them to the satisfac- " tion of your majesty."

' The ladies apartments.
emperor Aulumgeer.

" His son; Anglicè, Vigilant mind.

" The
The

The prince applauded me much, and said, "with this able judgement and the similarity of our dispositions, how can I avoid giving you my esteem?" But to be sincere in this affair, justice was on the side of Azim Shaw; for Bedar Bukht was rival to his father, and waited opportunity to dethrone him. As for me, I was never in the service of Azim Shaw, nor had ever made him professions of duty, being wholly devoted to his son.

Being alone with him one night, he suddenly threw his arms about my neck, and holding down his head upon my breast, said, "If a sovereign and parent seeks the life of a son, and that son is truly informed of his intention, how should he act in self-defence? Have you a precedent for it?"

I replied, "Such a question is unnecessary. The behaviour of your grandfather to his father is a sufficient precedent; and sovereigns are forced to expedients which are not justifiable in other men."

Conversation of this sort often passed between us; and one evening he asked me, how he might gain an opportunity of seizing his father. I replied, "An opportunity will offer thus: When he has gained the victory over Shaw Aulum, you will be the first to congratulate him. The troops will then be separated here and there in search of plunder, or looking after the dead and wounded; and, as the tents will not be ready, your father will be only under a ¹ shaumianeh, surrounded by a few ² kanauts.

¹ Alluding to Aulumgeer's dethronement of Shaw Jahaun.

² A canopy of cotton cloth.

³ Walls of cotton cloth, which are always pitched round the tents of all who can afford them. The principal chiefs have them, enclosing ground of a great extent round theirs. They have a very splendid appearance. Bernier gives a good description of a Mogul camp, to which the curious may refer.

“ You will be admitted to audience, attended by such of your followers as may have deserved notice in the action by their gallant conduct; and, at such a time, they will be allowed their arms. It is probable your father will not have many persons with him between the kanauts. Then is your time.” The prince eagerly exclaimed, “ You have spoken well! Dare you, at such a time, strike the blow?”

I replied, that though the act was easy, yet a sacred oath rested upon our family never to shed the blood of a prince unless by chance in battle, if engaged in the cause of a rival, when it would be excusable. I then said, “ Your other opportunity will be thus: should the enemy fly, an army will be sent in pursuit, and probably under your command, while your father, setting his mind at ease, will be employed, without suspicion, in pleasure and rejoicing. You may return suddenly upon him, and gain your wishes. Should this opportunity not occur, as you are his eldest son and have seen much service, he will certainly appoint you to the government of Dekkan. You will have then a powerful army at your disposal. As your father’s behaviour is disgusting to the people, and many of the courtiers dislike him, they will aid your pretensions. Use open force, and try for whom God will decide.”

Bedar Bukht, having crossed the Chumbul at an unobserved ford, the troops of Azeem Ooshaun, who were stationed on the banks of the river in another quarter, left their artillery in the various posts, and fled to Agra, happy to save their lives. Zoolfeccar, who had advised the prince to remain on the other side, seeing he had crossed, now came up reluctantly, and congratulated him on the success of his march. This submission pleasing his highness, he resolved on the morrow to honour him with a visit,

in order to atone for his late behaviour. Zoolfeccar Khan, hearing of his intention, sent a message to me, desiring that I would persuade him to lay it aside, as his highness's visit would occasion various reports, and the cause be inserted in the intelligence of the spies, with remarks that would injure the prince and himself in the opinion of Azim Shaw.

I was preparing to execute the commission; but before I could leave my tent, Zoolfeccar Khan passed by, having resolved to go himself to the prince. Begging pardon for his boldness, he presented a garland of flowers to his highness, who, softened with his humility, shewed him more favour than was consistent with his own dignity. It was a rule of Aulumgeer's, never to shew such condescension to the nobility, as to make them think themselves too necessary to him, but he conducted himself so as to be held in respectful veneration by those even nearest his person. Certain it is, that too much humility in a sovereign loses him the object for which it is assumed. The prince, having honoured him with the robe he had on, and a rich firpeach of jewels, dismissed him with numerous professions of kindness.

Zoolfeccar Khan the same evening made another visit, when I only was sitting with the prince, and thus began to offer his advice: "Since your highness has crossed the river, as the prince Azeem Ooshaun is near, it is proper to march towards him immediately, lest your father should conceive evil suspicions, or the army

* Garlands made of the chumbeely, a sort of double jasmine, are always introduced with the betel at entertainments, and presented to the guests; also tassels of the same for the turban, and sometimes leaves of gold and silver foils, are interwoven with the flowers.

* The firpeach is a jewel for the turban. A kulghee, or egret, is generally worn with it.

“suppose that you fear to engage him.” The prince did not answer him, but nodding to me, said, “Have you heard what he observed?” I replied, “Yes; and he is an experienced general and faithful servant; yet there are some points to be considered. Though engaging Azeem Ooshaun is no hazardous enterprize, yet he is also a prince; and if, now your highness has crossed the river to meet him, he does not march this way, the reproach of delay will rest on him. Let us consider also who is nearest to us, Azim Shaw, or Shaw Aulum. If the former, let us march: yet Azeem Ooshaun, if defeated, has the city of Agra for a refuge, to reduce which must require some days. His father may also arrive with his vast army, said to be an hundred thousand horse, and he has already with him thirty thousand. If Zoolfeccar Khan judges he can, without the aid of your father, engage these two armies, and a prince of Shaw Aulum’s experience and valour, what can we dread? Let us march.” Zoolfeccar Khan, in reply to this, only said, as was his manner when pleased, “Good! good! good! He hath spoken well.”

Some days after this, Azim Shaw approaching near, Bedar Bukht moved a cofs in front, the spot he was upon being chosen for his father’s tents; and the morning of his arrival, went two cofs from the camp to meet him. Azim Shaw loved him as a son, though, from the attention shewn him by Aulumgeer, he had regarded him as a rival. When he now beheld him, after long absence, paternal fondness for the instant overcame his jealousy, and he received him with strong marks of affection, conferring upon him a princely khelaut, with the ‘chaurkub, a sword set with jewels, elephants and horses. The prince, after the interview, asked me if I would not pay my respects to his father: to which I replied, that I did

* An upper robe, never conferred but on princes of the royal family, the vizier of the empire, and Ameer al Amra.

not wish it, having no desire to engage his notice, or embrace his service; but, upon his observing that my declining it would occasion much suspicion, I consented, and was introduced. Azim Shaw, upon seeing me, said, "Are you also come?" I replied, "Yes, but without orders. I left my station, though far distant from the route of your majesty. Who else has done so?" He conferred the usual khelaut upon me, and gave orders for my being employed.

Empire having been decreed to Shaw Aulum, from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Azim Shaw, that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of ¹Toor and Sullum, durst not meet him in the field. Hence, those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth; as was formerly the case with the emperor ²Humaioon, during the rebellion of the Afghan Shere Shaw. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.

At length Shaw Aulum having reached ³Muttra, sent by a celebrated dirvesh the following message to Azim Shaw. "By the divine auspices, we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent

¹ Vast armies, mentioned in the Koraun.

² Father of Akber. See his reign in Dow's History.

³ A city about eighteen coss N. of Agra, much venerated by the Hindoos, it being the birth-place of their god Kishen. There were formerly very rich temples in it; but one, more celebrated than the rest, and erected by Ber Sing, deo raja of Oorcha, cost thirty-six lacks of rupees. It was razed by Aulumgeer, who built a mosque on the site with the materials. Muttra, however, has still many temples, which are visited by pilgrims from all parts of India.

"to

“ to shed the blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the
 “ empire between us. Though I am the elder, I will leave the
 “ choice in your power.” Azim Shaw, vain-glorious and haughty,
 replied, that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the
 field, and upon this, the messenger departed. Azim Shaw marched
 the next morning, and encamped between Iajoo and Agra, on a
 barren plain void of water, so that the army was much distressed.
 Intelligence arrived during this day, that Shaw Aulum was
 encamped seven coss distant, and intended moving on the morrow,
 but to what quarter was not known.

I have already mentioned, that my design is not to write the
 history of kings, but of myself, and what I have seen. Accord-
 ingly, of the battle between the brothers, I shall only relate such
 circumstances as I was an eye-witness of.

Sunday, the
 18th of Ru-
 bee al awul,
 A.H. 1119.
 A.C. 1707.

The morning dawned; but what a dawn! Darting fire, and
 tinged with blood; of whose horrors the last day can only prove an
 imitation. Call it not morning; it was the day of judgment!
 Call it not dawn; it was the evening of death! Call it not day,
 but the gloomy eve of the woes of time!

Mahummud Bedar Bukht, who commanded the advanced corps
 of the army, having given the necessary orders, began his march.
 He was mounted upon his favorite elephant, and his most valued
 attendants were near his person. Zoolfeccar Khan with the two
 Rajepoet chiefs, Ram Sing and Dulput Roy, also Amaun Oollah
 Khan, followed them, inclined somewhat to the left of the prince.
 The main body of the army marched next, in the center of which
 rode Azim Shaw, surrounded by his courtiers and a numerous
 band of Mogul, Afghan and Hindostanee munsubdaurs, of

* Anglicè, Holding rank. Persons of family, but without titles of nobility.

approved

approved valour. We had not as yet learned the position of the enemy, or what was the design of Shaw Aulum.

Mahummud Bedar Bukht had reached a village, near which was a stream of clear water; and some wells were also round about it. The troops at this time were much separated, and every chief, inattentive to order, moved as he chose. Seeing which, I represented to the prince, that the main body was far behind; that the country in his front was destitute of water for some miles, and the day promised to be distressingly hot. Without order, without intelligence of the enemy's motions, where would he hasten? I remarked the scattered march of his followers; Zoolfeccar Khan obliques so far to the left as scarcely to be visible, and other chiefs equally distant in every quarter. I observed, that, if he halted here till some news arrived of the enemy, there was sufficient water to refresh the troops, the artillery would come up, the emperor have time to join, and order be restored in the line; also that, should the enemy advance upon him, he would have the advantage of good ground and plenty of water. He replied, "Your advice is just. Go, and inform my father I shall follow it."

It happened also, that Shaw Aulum had no advice of the route of our army; and, as there was but little water where he was encamped, he had this morning dispatched his main body under Monauim Khan, while he, with his sons and personal attendants, hunted along the bank of the Jumna. His ² peeshkhaneh, with the usual escort under ³ Roostum-dil Khan, was coming on in front of the army, in the same route as our line.

¹ Anglicè, Fortunate. He was chief minister to Shaw Aulum.

² Anglicè, Advanced house. The Hindostanee chiefs have always two sets of tents, &c. one of which is always dispatched, in front of the army, to the next ground of encampment, and pitched for their reception.

³ Anglicè, Of heart like Roostum, the celebrated champion of Firdosi's Shaw-nammeh, or History of Persian Kings.

Upon

Upon the delivery of my message to Azim Shaw, he replied, "It is very well. Go, and inform my son I am coming up." I returned to the promised place of halt; but what did I behold! The prince had marched on, and left the village unguarded. I speeded after him, and, upon gaining the line, saw a joyful scene of congratulation on victory. When the prince saw me, he eagerly exclaimed, "I congratulate you on victory!" I replied, "How comes victory, without a battle?" Upon which his highness, turning to a courier, said, "Tell Eradut Khan what you have seen." This foolish wretch then affirmed, that he had seen the ^{*}Sewarree elephant of Shaw Aulum, without a rider, and with but few attendants, running off towards Agra. The prince then said, that our left wing had defeated the enemy, and taken all their baggage. The cause of this imaginary victory was thus: The advanced baggage of Shaw Aulum falling in with our left wing, was attacked, and, the escort being small, soon taken. The elephant seen running away, belonged to Roostum-dil Khan, who commanded the escort.

The prince, however, now ordered me to go and inform his father of the victory, supposing that my being the bearer of good news would give me favour in his mind. I declined going, and observed, that I could not carry intelligence so very ridiculous and groundless; upon which the prince was angry, and exclaimed, "What do you mean?" I replied, "Let us reason on the subject. Is not Shaw Aulum the son of Aulumgeer, and claimant of the throne? Has he not advanced from Cabul to Agra, with four sons, valiant like himself, and a great army? Can then any person of judgment even suppose, that he should basely fly without a battle, or even having seen his enemy? What dread

* That on which he usually rode.

" can have seized him, who was a valiant leader in the wars of
 " Dekkan, against Samba, Sunta, and Dhunna? Accidents
 " will happen to the baggage of armies, and this boasted victory
 " is no more. Your troops have plundered his advanced tents;
 " but woe to those who have been thus employed! If important
 " service should now offer, they will be useless, confused as they
 " are, and encumbered with spoil." To these remarks the prince
 angrily exclaimed, " You are always apprehensive, and foreboding
 " ill!" He then ordered Cafim, the darogah of his divan, to
 carry the intelligence of victory to Azim Shaw.

Scarcely half an hour after this had elapsed, when a great dust
 arose upon our right. Upon this, I said to the prince, " Behold
 " the consequence of our victory, and the flight of Shaw Aulum!
 " Yon cloud precedes at least fifty thousand horse." Just as I
 had concluded, another dust arose, which certified a second body
 of troops approaching. I desired his highness to prepare for action,
 while yet the enemy was at some distance. He then said, " Will
 " you now go, and inform my father of the enemy's approach?"
 To this I replied, " Though I wish not to quit your highness's
 " person, yet, as I am ordered, I must obey;" and, having said
 this, I rode off with speed towards Azim Shaw. On my way, I
 beheld strange disorder. Amax Oollah Khan, a reputed good
 officer, who acted as herauwul to the prince Wallajah, I met
 with only two or three hundred straggling horse. Azim Shaw was

* Son to the celebrated Mharatta chief Sewajee, whom he succeeded; but was taken
 prisoner, and put to death by Aulumgeer.

² Another son of Sewajee.

³ A famous Mharatta chief.

⁴ Superintendant of the hall of audience.

⁵ Leader of the advanced corps.

⁶ Anglice, Of high rank. He was younger son to Azim Shaw.

a coss and a half farther in the rear, and his troops become separated into three divisions, so that I could not easily distinguish the royal post; for the train of artillery had been left in Dekkan, and the standard elephants were out of their stations, so that there was nothing to mark the emperor from a distance. When Terbeut Khan was removed from the command of the artillery, and his successor applied for orders concerning it to Azim Shaw, he was much enraged, and passionately exclaimed, "Do men think that I will use cannon against a breeder of cattle? I will not even draw the sword, but bruise his head with a staff."

At length I perceived the imperial umbrella, and hastened towards it. Some of the courtiers, who always first received intelligence, that they might accommodate it to the humour of their master, demanded my business; but, not listening to such weak flatterers, I rode on. When Azim Shaw saw me, he made a signal for me to advance; but, such was the crowd, I had scarce ability to push through it. At length, having come near to his travelling throne, I alighted from my horse, and said, "The prince informs your majesty of the enemy's near approach." What shall I say? Azim Shaw, starting as if stung by a scorpion, with furious looks, eyes rolling, and, as was his custom when angry, pulling up his sleeve, exclaimed, "Comes an enemy to me!" Being vexed at his manner, I replied, "So it appears." He then called aloud for his war elephant, and, in a frantic manner whirling a crooked

¹ Alluding to the bullocks used for the draft of the artillery, universal in Hindostan.

² The umbrella is one of the imperial ensigns; and, when the etiquette of the court was kept up, no subject dared to carry one.

³ A feat, or rather small couch, fixed on three poles, like the nallekee described in a former note.

⁴ A short crooked staff, about three feet in length, not unlike a crozier, used by fakerees to lean on when they sit, and often by persons of rank as an emblem of humility, and having declared themselves disciples to some holy man.

staff,

staff, stood upright in his throne, and tauntingly said, "Be not alarmed! I am coming up to my son." Hurt at this insult to the spirit of my prince, I said, "His highness is son to yourself, asylum of a world, and knoweth not fear. He only represents the enemy's approach, that your majesty may advance with the troops, and take the post usual for the emperor in the day of battle."

Having said this, I rode off to rejoin Bedar Bukht; but such crowds surrounded me to ask for news, that I could not disengage myself till within a rocket's flight of the prince. Just as I had reached him, the enemy began to cannonade, and a ball struck the breast of an attendant close to his person.

As I had not been undressed for the last two nights, and was exceedingly fatigued with hard riding, the sun and wind being burning hot, my strength now failed me, and I fainted away. My brother, seeing this, lifted me from my horse, laid me on the ground, and loosened my armour, but could get no water to revive me. The prince, observing my distress, generously sent me a small vessel from his elephant, which gave me new life. I untied the folds of my vest, and poured some of the water on my breast, but was still too faint to rise. By this time, Azim Shaw was come up; but, contrary to the custom of the emperors, whose station is the rear of the center, pushed on towards Bedar Bukht, and his attendants crowded after him without order. Ameer Khan passing by, and seeing me on the ground, offered me a seat with him on his elephant, as did others of my friends; but I refused them all. At length my own elephant arriving, I mounted, and lay with my breast bare upon three skins of water, which luckily for me were in the seat, to prevent my fainting a second time. The train elephants of Azim Shaw, those of his women, of the treasury, and

the jewel office, now pushed between me and Bedar Bukht, so that I was removed some distance from him.

The two bodies of the enemy had now approached, and halted within a 'rocket's flight of our line. One of these was headed by the prince Azeem Ooshaun, the other by Monauim Khan, with whom were also the princes * Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw and † Jehaun Shaw. Our line was so pressed upon on each flank, and in the rear, by baggage elephants, cattle and followers, as greatly to incommode the troops, and render them useless. Shaw Aulum's artillery played upon us incessantly, and did great execution; and his sons advancing, fired showers of musquetry, which fell like hail. A line of rockets extending in front of our army, was repeatedly discharged with great effect. The sun, obscured by dust and smoke, was in the meridian, and the heat excessive. At length our troops, grown impatient from the galling of the enemy's cannon, prepared to charge. This being told me by my brother, who supported me on the elephant, I raised myself as much as I could, adjusted my armour, and observed the motions. I saw Khan Aulum move towards the enemy with great rapidity, upon which I waved my handkerchief as a signal for the prince Bedar Bukht to follow, which he did, so that I shortly could see only the top of his ‡ amaury. As to myself, I could not move, being wedged in by the crowd of elephants around me.

* The rocket in India is used in war, and the chamber being made of iron, does execution wherever it strikes, but cannot be sent in true direction. It will reach from three to four hundred yards.

† Anglicè, Respector of the faith, king possessing the world; eldest son of Shaw Aulum.

‡ King of the world; youngest son of Shaw Aulum.

• A canopied seat for an elephant. An open one is called howzah, or howdah.

As Khan Aulum advanced nearer the enemy, his followers diminished, gradually lagging behind, and not above three hundred stuck by him to the charge. When I saw this, I well knew that all was lost. The brave chief, however, penetrated to the elephant of Azeem Ooshaun, and hurled his spear at the prince, but it missed him, and struck the thigh of an attendant; when the prince drew an arrow, which pierced the heart of Khan Aulum, and he died on the instant. His brother, Munnower Khan, was also wounded. Their followers fell back in the utmost confusion, and fled, as did the greatest part of our right wing, leaving the prince Wallajah in a manner alone; but, notwithstanding this desertion, he heroically kept his post. Amaun Oollah Khan, seeing his danger, hastened to support him, when unluckily a rocket lighting in the pad supporting his seat on the elephant, it took fire, and burnt so furiously as to pain the animal, who turned back. The khan, half burnt, fell to the ground; and his troops, thinking he was killed, fled in disorder. The prince Wallajah, upon this, retreated for shelter towards Bedar Bukht.

A body of the enemy, under Bauz Khan Afghan, now attacked Zoolfeccar Khan, but was repulsed with great loss, and the chief badly wounded; but, by the decrees of Providence, Ram Sing Harra, and Dulput Raow Bonedelah, on whose valour and conduct Zoolfeccar Khan most depended, were both killed at the same instant by a cannon shot; upon which their raujepoots lost all confidence, and fled with the dead bodies of their chiefs. Zoolfeccar Khan, however, yet remained firm with his own followers; but, upon being charged by the whole of Azeem Ooshaun's division, he left the conduct of the battle to Syed Muzuffir, and retired to the rear of Azim Shaw's post with Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and, having dismounted from his elephant, fled on horse-

Victorious.

back

back to Gualiar, where he was received by his father, 'Assud Khan. His flight determined the rout of our army.

The principal followers and personal attendants of Azim Shaw now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to wait the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron. Syed Abdoolla, and his brother Houffsein Ali Khan, of the illustrious house of Barreh, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed the most gallant actions, if possible superior to their fires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and great slaughter on both sides. Houffsein Ali Khan received several wounds, and fell down faint with the loss of blood. Amaun Oolla Khan was killed. Terbeut Khan, Muttullub Khan, and Khoodabundeh Khan, having expended all their arrows, used their sabres; but the former was soon killed by a musquet ball, and the two latter fell down faint with many wounds. Suffawee Khan, of the royal house of Persia, Meerza Abdoolla, and a numerous band of great officers of Azim Shaw, were slain, after each had shewn the valour of Roostum in his defence. At last a musquet ball, and several arrows, struck the prince Bedar Bukht, and he sunk down dead upon his elephant. I saw him fall, and in the agony of grief exclaimed, "Hadst thou not, O God, created ambition of crowns and thrones, the head of my prince had not been thus humbled in dust and blood!"

Azim Shaw, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shaw Aulum. From this now issued Monauim Khan with a select band, the princes Azeem Ooshaun, Moiz ad dien Jehaundar Shaw, and Jehaun Shaw. Azim Shaw soon received a mortal wound from a

* Anglicè, Lion; signifying like one in valour.

musquet

musquet ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The prince Wallajah also sunk down in the sleep of death. I now made my escape towards Agra, not chusing to go to the enemy's camp, though I had many friends, who would have given me protection.

Rooftum dil Khan, who, as already mentioned, commanded the escort of Shaw Aulum's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, finding his escape cut off, paid his respects to Azim Shaw, and had continued near his elephant during the battle, till his death, with great firmness. Seeing him dead, he ascended the elephant, and cutting off the head of the corpse, remounted his horse, and hastened to the camp of Shaw Aulum. With exulting hope of great reward, he laid his prize at the prince's feet; but the compassionate Shaw Aulum, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave him nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten.

Monauim Khan took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate princes, and treated the ladies of their harems with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. He could not dismount from his elephant without help and was obliged, no pallekee being at hand, to be carried in a cloth to the presence of Shaw Aulum. His eldest son, Nyeem Khan, also was dangerously wounded by a ball in the neck, and was recovered with difficulty. Shaw Aulum passed the night under a shau-mianeh on the field of battle, and the next day, having attained the important object of empire, with his mind freed from the
dread

dread of a rival, moved in triumph to the gardens of 'Dhiera, round which his army encamped.

I shall now relate some particulars necessary to be known concerning Shaw Aulum; his march from Cabul, and other proceedings, to the day of engagement with his unfortunate brother Azim Shaw.

Some time before his death, Aulumgeer had appointed Monauim Khan to be ² dewan to Shaw Aulum, who then held the government of Cabul. This nobleman was of great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution, and of unbending integrity of mind. He soon arranged the prince's affairs, which, before his coming into office, were always in confusion, owing to the ascendancy of unworthy favourites. Dissolute and oppressive, they, from self-interested motives, interfered with the duties of a dewan, and prevented him from doing justice. A superfluous soldiery was kept up, exceeding the ability of the revenue, and, being consequently ill paid, was ever mutinous and discontented. At the same time the household of the prince was distressed. Monauim Khan, respected from the esteem in which he was held by the emperor, and his already established character of great ability, soon gained the perfect confidence of Shaw Aulum. He diminished the prince's army, but took care to pay that on foot regularly, so as to leave no room for discontent, or excuse for licentiousness. When he had thus reformed affairs at Cabul, he left his son as his deputy there, and removed to Lahore, the collections of which province were full of abuses. He had resolved to amend them, and succeeded, so as to render the majority of all ranks pleased with his administration. When he heard of Aulumgeer's illness, in order

² About three coss, or six miles, from Agra.

^{*} Manager of the revenues.

to prevent cabals in favour of Azim Shaw, he circulated a report that Shaw Aulum would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by a flight to Persia. Shaw Aulum had himself, indeed, made this declaration long before; and with such apparent resolution, that it was believed, and dreaded even by his sons, who resided with him. Monauim Khan related to me afterwards the following anecdote, in these words:

“ When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity, and abilities,
“ had properly impressed Shaw Aulum’s mind, and that he was
“ convinced I was a prudent, faithful and secret servant, being
“ alone one day with him, conversing on the affairs of the empire,
“ I took the liberty of thus addressing him: *It is reported that your
“ highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence, that even
“ the princes, your sons, assure me by sacred oaths of its truth. He
“ replied, In this rumour there lies concealed a great design, to for-
“ ward which, I have spread it abroad, and taken pains to make it
“ believed. First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty,
“ kept me nine years in close confinement; and, should he even now
“ think I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive
“ to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother, Mahummud Azim
“ Shaw, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme
“ of rashness, would exert all his force against me. From this report,
“ my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security; but, by
“ the Almighty God who gave me life, laying his hand on the Koraun
“ by him, and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should
“ join me, I will meet Azim Shaw in single combat, wherever he may
“ be. This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept
“ from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious
“ that no instance of your conduct may betray it!*”

G

To

To proceed. When the news of Aulumgeer's death reached Monauim Khan at Lahore, he wrote immediately by express to Shaw Aulum, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, as he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery, with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies. Shaw Aulum, by long marches of ten and twelve coss each day, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and Monauim Khan entered that city with a select party. The officers of Azim Shaw were alarmed, and either fled, or concealed themselves in disguises. ¹ Mahummud Ear Khan, the kelladar of the palace, a cautious person, and ever looking into futurity, though he knew most of the great ameers had embraced the cause of Azim Shaw, yet was so awed with the vizier's gallantry, and the arrival of Shaw Aulum, that he saw no security for himself but in resigning his charge. He accordingly gave up the palace, in which were the treasures of Hindostan, collected from the reign of Akber to the present times. Thus was Shaw Aulum, by the activity and resolution of his servant, made master of funds to support (if he chose) all the troops to be levied in the empire. The army was now increased to one hundred thousand horse, and soldiers of every cast and sect flocked in crowds to the imperial standard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid. Monauim Khan advanced with some chosen troops before the prince to Agra, and though Bedar Bukht was at the Chumbul, and Azim Shaw arrived at Gualiar, he was not alarmed, but encamped immediately before the citadel. ² Baukee Khan, an old imperial ser-

¹ Anglicè, Friend of Mahummud.

² Anglicè, Constant.

vant,

vant, and governor of the fortress, which he had refused to resign to Azeem Ooshawn, being certified that Shaw Aulum was approaching, did not chuse to resist longer, but sent offers, that if Monauim Khan would come first alone into the citadel, he would resign the command. He accordingly, without the least distrust, entered over a narrow plank, only passable for a single person, which was placed over a deep ditch from a small wicket to admit him. As he had made a forced march from Muttra, of twenty coss, he now lay down to take a few hours rest, till all his followers arrived. After this refreshment, he sealed up the treasury, posted his people at the different gates, and about midnight went to visit Azeem Ooshawn, who was encamped at the distance of six coss, to whom he offered much friendly advice for his conduct to his father, who was jealous of his loyalty. When the news of the surrender of the citadel of Agra reached Bedar Bukht at 'Dholepore, his spirit was broken, and the crimson of his hopes faded into pale despair. I was with him at the time, and perceived that he regarded every thing as lost. He immediately sent an account of the event to his father, who had not yet heard of Shaw Aulum's arrival at Muttra, as his weak servants, fearful of his displeasure, and the usual gross abuse, dared not to inform him. At length Shaw Aulum made the proposal of a division of the empire, which was refused, and two days afterwards the conflict ensued, as above-mentioned.

Without doubt, Shaw Aulum's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister; yet he never set forth himself as having done any extraordinary service, but would often say to his majesty, that empire was the particular gift of God, and that no obligation could be

* A town on the bank of the Chumbul, in the province of Agra.

laid on sovereigns; so that, if any one thought himself conducive to their success, it was, in them, vanity and folly. To me, from whom he kept not his inmost thoughts, he would say, "Kings, through the blaze of splendor, cannot see impartially; therefore, if any person presumes upon services, and would shew that he thinks them an obligation on his master, the jealous disposition of royalty cannot bear it, and rejects the claim, as was clearly proved in the proceedings of the emperor Mahummud Akber, and Beyram Khan, his assuming minister."

It is now necessary to say something of the four sons of Shaw Aulum, their dispositions and behaviour, both in public and private.

¹ Moiz ad Dien Jehaundaur Shaw, the eldest, was a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave himself no trouble about state affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility, as will be seen when I come to relate his reign.

Azeem Ooshawn, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners. Aulumgeer had always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons, and employing them in public affairs; for, as his sons were ambitious, of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controuled them, by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Bedar Bukht to Azim Shaw, and Azeem Ooshawn to Shaw Aulum. To the latter he had given the advantageous government of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, from whence he had now come with a rich treasure,

² Beyram Khan, on the death of Humaioon, became regent during the minority of Akber, who, at the age of seventeen, not chusing longer to be governed by a subject, displaced him.

³ Anglicè, Respector of the faith.

and

and considerable army; and though in the late battle he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father, and dreaded as a rival: but to relate the causes would be useless proximity.

¹ Ruffeh Ooshawn, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, and of much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music, and the pomp of courtly shew. He paid no attention to public affairs, or even those of his own household.

² Khojestehe Akhter Jehaun Shaw had the greatest share of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne; after which, the whole administration of the empire was long influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connection with Monauim Khan, who, by his interest, was appointed vizier.

When Shaw Aulum had reposed from the fatigues of war, he took measures to reduce Kaum Buksh, who had assumed the imperial titles in Dekkan. It was not supposed that he could make much opposition, but in the opinions of the wise and understanding prejudged, that his behaviour would of itself ruin him in that country.

Monauim Khan now called together, by attention and consoling behaviour, the unfortunate nobility of Azim Shaw, who had escaped from the late battle to different places. Zoolfeccar Khan had fled to his father, ³ Assud Khan, who had the charge of Azim

¹ Anglicè, Of high rank.

² Of happy star; king of the world.

³ Anglicè, Lion.

MEMOIRS OF THE

Shaw's baggage in Gualiar. The vizier had taken pains to convince his master, that the ancient nobility were the pillars of the state, and that the welfare of the empire depended on their persons, whose ancestors had held high offices, and acquired influence and respect with the people, so that it was proper and politic to employ them.

As the vizarut had been conferred on Monauim Khan, at his request, the most dignified office of ¹ vakeel mutfulluk was entrusted to Affud Khan, and that of ² meer bukshi to his son Zoolfeccar Khan, with the title of Ameer al Amra. The second bukshiship was conferred on Meerza ³ Shawnowaz Khan Suffawee. Monauim Khan, regardless of trifles, submitted to sit below Affud Khan in the divans, and to shew him every respect as his superior in office. The government of all Dekkan was granted to the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who performed the duties by his deputy, Daood Khan Punnee, while he in person attended the court.

Monauim Khan, sincerely loyal, generous in mind, and full of zeal for the service of his master, never preferred the gratification of his own passions to the welfare of the state, or honour of the sovereign. He both advised and acted what was for his glory. For example, most of the ameers of Aulumgeer had accompanied Azim Shaw, and fought against Shaw Aulum in the late contest, consequently were liable in justice to whatever evils or punishments he chose to inflict upon them; but Monauim Khan became their general intercessor, representing to the emperor, that they were

¹ Anglicè, Universal agent. This is an office superior to that of vizier. It is seldom filled up, but in time of great emergency; but it was lately conferred on the infant Peishwa, by his present majesty of Dhely, though it cannot be considered now but as an empty honour. It seems to have been no more to Affud Khan.

² Chief paymaster.

³ Anglicè, Favoured by the king.

excusable,

excusable, having only obeyed an heir who sat upon the throne, which, as affairs were circumstanced at that time, they could not avoid; that, after they had become his friends, 'eaten of his salt, and made new compacts and declarations in addition to their former vows of allegiance, they could not in honour abuse his confidence by treachery or desertion. He observed, that the empire of Hindostan was a state not to be kept in order by one or two persons; that, like the magnificent pavilion of ² Soleymaun, many strong pillars and powerful cords were required to support it, and keep it on a lasting footing; that the noble families, who from generation to generation had the benefit of experience, a knowledge of the customs of the empire and rules of government, were alone suited to high employments; that most of the present nobility had also held for many years important offices, and acquired wisdom and knowledge. He said, that, if they were not still entrusted with the posts of greatest confidence, there would not remain a possibility of supporting the rules of the empire, or obtaining able statesmen or good generals. He advised his majesty to reward amply those persons who had joined his standard from every quarter, and done good services, agreeable to their merits; but without exalting them beyond their abilities, observing that many of them had only been dependants on the princes and nobility, others again only servants to fojedaur and governors of towns. Where then could they have acquired judgment in politics and knowledge of government, dignity of manner, or fortitude to support the power of command? He observed, that such accomplishments were inherent to noble birth and liberal education, the natural consequence of such advantage. Such was the vizier, of whose master (worthy of him) I now speak.

¹ This expression implies a very strong connection in the original idiom.

² According to Mahummedan tradition, Solomon had a very sumptuous pavilion made for him by the Genii.

Shaw Aulum was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability, discerning of merit. He had seen the strict exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father, and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal, if not superior, to their merits; so that the public forgot the excellencies and great qualities of Aulumgeer, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor. Some narrow-hearted persons, however, out of ingratitude and envy, attributed his general liberality to ill-placed extravagance and profusion; but it is a fact, that the deserving of every profession, and worthy of all degrees, whether among the learned or the eloquent, the noble or the ignoble, received an attention from the throne, which the eye of time prior to this had never seen, nor had such been heard of before by the ears of fame. His personal qualities and perfections, speech is unequal to relate. His valour was such, that he had resolved on meeting Azim Shaw, whose bravery was celebrated, in single combat. His four sons, possessed of great power and considerable force, he suffered constantly to be near his person, never giving himself a moment's suspicion regarding them, nor preventing their forming connections with the prime nobility; upon which subject I, the humblest of his slaves, once ventured to present him a petition of a cautionary nature, thinking it my duty, as I had often done so to Aulumgeer. To what I represented, he wrote a wise and just reply, which, by God's permission, I will one time or other relate. He permitted the sons of those princes, who had fallen in battle against him, to appear at all times completely armed in his presence. The infant children he let remain unmolested with their mothers, while those arrived at manhood daily accompanied him in the chace, unguarded, and shared in all his diversions. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shaw Jehaun. Seventeen princes, his sons, grandsons, and

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nephews,

nephews, sat generally round his throne, in the manner following:—On his right hand, Jehaundaar Shaw, his eldest son, with his three sons, his third son Ruffeh Ooshawn with his three sons, and Bedar Dil, son to his nephew Bedar Bukht. On his left, Mahumud Azeem Ooshawn with his two sons, and Jehaun Shaw with his son. Ali Tibbar, the only surviving son of Azim Shaw, sat on the right hand of Azeem Ooshawn, and a little to the right, somewhat advanced, the two sons of Mahummud Kaum Buksh. Behind the royal princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Secunder Adil Shaw of Beejapore, and Koottub Shaw, king of Golconda; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. How can I mention every particular of the splendid scene? On the eeds, and other festivals, his majesty, with his own hands, gave the betel and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours, were truly royal. When in private, he dressed plain and humbly, like a religious, and daily, without fail, prayed with many in company. Frequently on holidays and Fridays, when travelling, he would read the prayers himself, in the

* Anglicè, Of high descent.

* The Mahummedans have two grand eeds or holidays, one at the conclusion of the ramzaun, and the other on the anniversary of the day on which Abraham consented to sacrifice his son. On these days, tents are pitched about a mile distant from the city, to which the emperor goes in great state to pray, and on his return receives presents from his ameers, on whom he confers honorary dresses according to rank. The same ceremony is observed in every town, by the governor. At the last eede, after prayers, a camel is sacrificed, and a small part of it dressed, and eaten on the spot by the emperor and his attendants. The cavalcades which I chanced to attend on each of these days, at Lucnow and Banaris, were very brilliant, and served to give an idea of the astonishing splendor which must have graced these in the flourishing times of the empire. It is probable Mr. Zoffani may offer the public a view of the procession at Lucnow, on the first eed in 1784, as he was present, and took a sketch of it.

grand tent of audience, and repeat portions of the Koraun with a tone and sweetness which captivated the most eloquent Arabians. He never missed the devotions of the latter part of the night, and frequently employed the whole in prayer. In the early part of the evening, he had generally an assembly of the religious, or learned men. He himself related ¹ traditions, in the number of which he excelled, as well as in a knowledge of the holy laws. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free-thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account, some over-strict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the insolence of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun, how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points. But how can I enumerate all his perfections! It would fill volumes to recite but a small part; therefore I shall desist, and now relate, as briefly as possible, the expedition of his majesty to Dekkan, against the death-devoted Kaum Buksh.

It has been already mentioned that the late emperor, a few days before his death, dispatched Kaum Buksh to Beejapore. This prince was of an excellent memory, learned, and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached near to insanity. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but, for some misbehaviour, he was reprov'd, degraded, or confined; and some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. When he arrived at Beejapore, he immediately proclaimed himself in the ²khootba, and struck coins in his own name. What follies

¹ Anecdotes and maxims of the prophet.

² The khootba is a form of prayer, in which the souls of all departed patriarchs and prophets are first prayed for, beginning with Adam, and ending with Mahummud. The souls of the reigning family's ancestors are then recommended to mercy, and the whole

follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind, and the confidence he put in lying visionaries! These wretches had hailed each of the princes with a prophecy of succession to the throne, swearing they had conversations in their reveries with God, his prophet, and the pious saints, who had promised their assistance, so that human force was unnecessary. They assured Kaum Buksh, that he need not levy any troops for his support; for, though an enemy should march against him with all the myriads of 'Toor and Sullum, they would not dare to face his sight, much less engage in battle. Flattered by this, and impelled by madness, the weak youth regarded himself as emperor, and invincible in his single person; to prove which, he would often relate, in a raving manner, strange prognostics and divine greetings shewn to himself. His prophets having told him, that his eldest son would also one time become emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated to put him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aulumgeer: however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments on the ladies of his haram, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw, nor ear had heard.

Notwithstanding these blots in his character, as he was a son of Aulumgeer, and that part of the empire had been given to him, at first most of the chiefs of Dekkan, whether Mussulmauns or Hin-

whole concludes with a prayer for the prosperity of the monarch on the throne, and the welfare of his subjects. It is read every Friday in the mizid jamée, or grand mosque of all towns, and on the eeds or grand festivals.

* Two great hosts, mentioned in the Koraun.

doos, crowded to his standard, and the Imperial officers, as Syef Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, and others of all ranks, joined in acknowledging him emperor. Leaving his foster-brother, Meer Mullung, a debauched youth of neither birth or merit, at Beejapore as governor, he marched himself to Hyderabad, then commanded by Roostum Dil Khan, who had succeeded his father, ' Jan-sippar Khan, by Aulumgeer's orders, in that government. In this province he reduced some powerful zemindars to his obedience, and displaced others.

² Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadar Firose Jung, who had acquired a most powerful influence in Dekkan, was chief of the Tooranee moguls, and kept on foot a great army, had withdrawn himself from Azim Shaw. He was also much in dread of Shaw Aulum's resentment, he having advised that prince's being confined, when Aulumgeer was before Golconda. The late emperor had strenuously endeavoured to attach the Tooranees to Kaum Buksh, and for this purpose had appointed for that prince's preceptor, Syed Oughlan Seyadut Khan, the agent at court, and bosom confidant of Ghazee ad Dien Khan, venerated also by all the Toranees of every rank. He had also charged them with the protection of his person; but such was the temper of the unhappy prince, that at a time like this, when he claimed the throne, and, favourably for his cause, Ghazee ad Dien Khan dreaded Shaw Aulum, he could not make him his friend: on the contrary, he did many acts to displease him, and excite his alarms. This chief was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man; therefore, whatever wishes he might have to enjoy the honour of making an emperor, yet he soon saw the follies of Kaum Buksh, and declined his cause, as ruinous and

¹ Anglicè, Life-resigning.

² Anglicè, Champion of the faith; valiant and fortunate in war.

lost. In a short time too, the chief zemindars of Dekkan, who had in general joined his standard, displeased at his conduct and heedless shedding of human blood, his inconstancy of mind and breach of treaties, left him, and retired to their own countries, where they took care to secure themselves, till the disputes for the throne should be decided.

Thus, though the pretensions of Kaum Buksh were of no great importance, yet he was a son of Aulumgeer, and claimed a right to the empire. The behaviour of Ghazee ad Dien Khan also demanded consideration. ¹Ajeet Sing, hereditary zemindar of Jodepore, and Jey Sing, of Ambeer, did not shew that obedience and respect to the throne which had been observed by their ancestors, and meditated rebellion. All these circumstances made his majesty resolve on marching to Dekkan. The ²khan khanan opened a correspondence with Ghazee ad Dien Khan, to whom he gave much consolation, assurances of favour, and friendly advice. That experienced statesman, opening his eyes on the vicissitudes of life, saw it was his interest, if his majesty would forget the past, and not molest him in his fortune, to bend his head in submission, and retire from business to a life of devotion. His only son, ³Cheen Koolich Khan, had long disagreed with him, and his brother, ⁴Hamid Khan, whom he had appointed his deputy in command of the troops, had separated from him, and gone over to the presence. The Tooran chiefs of his household also, when they saw his fortunes on the decline, had left his service. All these events

¹ Son of the celebrated Jesswunt Sing, who acted so capital a part in the competitions of Aulumgeer and his brothers.

² Lord of Lords. Monauim Khan is meant by this title, which he received from Shaw Aulum.

³ Anglicè, Sword-drawing lord. He was afterwards famous as Nizam al Mulluck.

⁴ Anglicè, Assisting.

made him glad to embrace the promises of the minister, and thankfully accept the soubadacy of Ahmedabad Guzarat. He accordingly crossed the Nerbudda, and left Dekkan without trouble, but his fears prevented his coming to the court. He had not been in that of Aulumgeer since his loss of fight, which that generous and forgiving prince, out of regard to his former services, and from motives of policy, had excused.

Shaw Aulum began his march to Dekkan with an army superior to that of any of the former emperors, and a splendor till now unseen, having in his train all the princes, and a great concourse of nobility of every rank. The prudent and able Monauim Khan took such measures for the supplies of this mighty force, exceeding Aulumgeer's by an hundred thousand men, that the emperor had no trouble or difficulty, though only in the beginning of his reign, when the revenues of the provinces had not yet been received, nor respect for the throne been properly impressed in different quarters. When his majesty had arrived at Aurungabad, before he would advance towards Hyderabad, where the frantic Kaum Buksh then was, he wrote him several kind letters and friendly admonitions, to this effect:—" Our ever-honoured father resigned to you only
" Beejapore ; but we give you, in addition, Hyderabad. These
" two extensive countries, long famous for their great kings, producing a revenue more than half of Hindostan, we leave to you,
" without interference or reluctance, and shall esteem you dearer
" than our own children. Think not then of contention, nor
" consent to shed the blood of the faithful, nor disturb the repose
" of our government. If you give the ear of acceptance to this
" advice, we will farther confer upon you the nizamat of Dekkan,
" if agreeable to you ; and, after visiting the sacred tomb of our
" father, we will return to Hindostan."

There

There was no treachery or deceit in this generous offer, for Shaw Aulum always shewed tenderness, liberality and affection, in his conduct to his brothers. Kaum Buksh, weak and self-conceited as a child, bent on error, paid not the smallest attention to his brother, and continued to add fresh affronts to his authority. Roostum Dil Khan, Syef Khan of the Imperial servants, and others of no family or note, on whom he had bestowed titles of nobility, with about twenty thousand horse and foot, were now with him, but, disgusted at his behaviour, meditated opportunities to quit him. Monauim Khan, with his usual prudence, had sent them letters, assuring them of the emperor's forgiveness and favour; so that all, even to Meer Mullung, Kaum Buksh's foster-brother, had resolved to come over, and embrace his protection; but the prince, suspecting their intentions, put to death Roostum Dil Khan, Syef Khan, and Meer Mullung, and plundered their families of all they possessed, on the same day, and in the same place. He had after this no officer of consequence with him, and his treasure being expended, all his troops deserted, except about ten thousand of the worst Dekkan horse, and his small artillery; yet he still resolved to hazard a battle. When Shaw Aulum arrived within twelve coss of Hyderabad, the unfortunate Kaum Buksh lost daily his followers in crowds, and most of the zemindars of Dekkan retired to their homes; while the remainder mutinied for arrears, and hourly threatened to plunder his effects. Will it be believed, that he yet determined to resist, and expected victory? He even quitted the asylum of the city walls, and encamped upon a plain about the distance of three coss, with his small force, within sight of the emperor's army; so great was his enthusiastic belief in the prophecies of his deceiving, and perhaps self-deceived, devotees.

Shaw Aulum, from compassion to his brother, and the hope of yet reducing him by gentle means, would not permit his troops to attack;

A.H. 1120.
A.C. 1708.

attack ; but Kaum Buksh interpreted the inactivity of the Imperial army into fear, from his belief that the prophecies in his favour were now on the point of accomplishment ; for he had been assured by visionaries, that, though alone, mighty hosts would never prevail against him. Accordingly, though deserted by almost all his followers, he yet obstinately refused to pay allegiance to his brother. At length the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, who had a keen enmity against the misguided prince, and wished to shew his zeal for his new patron, resolved to seize him. He accordingly obtained leave to march, under the pretence of reconnoitring the enemy, and moved towards him with his own followers, a division from the troops of Monauim Khan, and a body of Mharattas under the chief Neema Sindia. The unfortunate prince prepared to withstand such superior force ; but, being charged at once on all sides, was instantly deserted by all his followers, except a few personal attendants. Notwithstanding this, he continued, as long as he had strength, to use his bow and arrows from his elephant, till at length he sunk down on his seat, through loss of blood from several wounds. He was then taken prisoner by Daood Khan, and carried to the prince Jehaun Shaw, who, with his brothers, had stood at some distance during this extraordinary skirmish.

The captive prince was conveyed immediately to the Imperial tents, and being laid upon a bed in the ' tushbeh khaneh, near the private apartments, was visited by his brother, the emperor, who endeavoured to comfort him by every expression of affectionate concern. The physicians and surgeons also attended, but he would not allow his wounds to be dressed, though earnestly entreated by his majesty and his sons. He spoke but little ; but when the prince Ruffeh Ooshawn tenderly asked, why he had refused offers of

* An oratory, where prayers are said.

favour,

favour, he replied, " His majesty was very gracious; but how
" could I submit to meet him in any other way than this?"
Upon Jehaun Shaw's repeating the question, he exclaimed, " I have
" done wrong; do not you follow my example!" One of the
princes asking him if he had more than a thousand followers when
taken, he angrily answered, " No; but had there been less than
" five hundred, I could with equal ease have brought myself here."
He then turned to the emperor, and said, " There are, in a casket
" upon my elephant, some jewels of our father and my own, of
" which I beg your majesty's acceptance." After this he grew
faint, and languished in silence, without uttering a single groan,
till nine at night, when he resigned his soul to the Creator of life.
We are from God, and to God we must return.

When Shaw Aulum had thus successfully concluded the war
with his brother, he did not chuse to remain longer in Dekkan,
though the affairs of that country required much arrangement, to
insure its future dependance on the empire. Perhaps he dreaded
the fate of his father, who, after the reduction of Beejapore, Hy-
derabad, and the taking of Sambah, remained to finish some objects
which then appeared easily attainable, but afterwards extended in
such a chain, that he could not quit Dekkan for the remainder of
his life. He had often lamented this necessity, and the relaxation
which his absence occasioned in the government of Hindostan;
and would frequently say to his confidants in private, " My disloyal
" subjects have imposed upon me this play-thing, that they may
" enjoy commands and honours." But I am wandering from my
subject. Shaw Aulum, in the height of the rains, began his march
from Hyderabad, leaving as deputy-governor of Dekkan, Daood
Khan Punnee, a native of the country, and a nobleman of great
military fame. When he recrossed the Nerbudda, it was intended
to employ all the powers of government to settle, in a proper
I manner,

manner, the Rajapoote countries, which had been disaffected ever since the accession of Aulumgeer; who, though offended at the behaviour of the rajas Ajeet Sing and Jey Sing, over whose territories he had appointed Imperial governors, yet was not able, from the wars in Dekkan, to punish them effectually. They had indeed visited Shaw Aulum, but had left his camp without permission, and now openly shewed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other; to bind which, Jey Sing had espoused the daughter of Ajeet Sing. At this crisis, intelligence arrived that the ¹ Siks had risen in rebellion. This sect of infidels, known also by the names of Nannukkea and Gooroh, had long been established in the foubah of Lahore, by a teacher styled Nannuk. Of his descendants was the present chief, to whom had flocked great crowds of all ranks, resigning to his disposal, with blind fidelity, their lives and properties. Thus supported, he excited sedition, and took arms to extend his errors, and overturn the basis of the true faith. He engaged Vizier Khan, the sojedaur of ² Sirhind, who was killed in the action, with numbers of his followers; after which the gooroh possessed himself of the town of Sirhind, and many districts of Doaub, as far as ³ Boreah, Saarunpore, and Shawdourah, on both banks of the river Jumnah, where he committed unlimited excesses, razing all public edifices, as mosques, colleges, maufoleums, and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity. The oppressions of these wretches were every day increasing, and there was no nobleman daring enough to march from Dhely against them. Asoph ad Dowlah Affud Khan, who governed that capital, shewing

¹ They now possess the provinces of Lahore, Multan, and part of Dhely, plundering as far south annually as Rohilcund.

² A considerable town, about fifty coss N. of Dhely.

³ These districts are now held by Zabtah Khan, a Rohilla chief, who however pays a tribute to the Siks, and it is said has entered into their sect.

great signs of fear, the inhabitants were alarmed, and began to fly, with their families and effects, towards the eastern provinces, for shelter from the impending storm. All this being represented to the emperor, in the highest colours, his majesty thought it best to march in person against the insurgents: for this reason, he resolved for the present to lay aside the design of totally expelling the rajapootes, and to confirm their allegiance, by winking at their offences, till a more convenient opportunity of punishment. These zemindars had, for generations, been used to obey, and had not, in fact, either fortitude or ability to oppose openly the emperor of Hindostan, whose appearance against them in arms would have been sufficient to curb their insolence; but the khankhanan, alarmed at the insurrection of the Siks, did not properly reflect on that circumstance, and descended to shew the rajapootes such favours as were inconsistent with good policy, as well as the dignity of the sovereign: but he was not alone to blame, as there were other agents in this business. The four princes were constantly intriguing against each other, to obtain influence in the management of public affairs, which occasioned much delay and confusion in business, so that the khankhanan thought it happy to steer his vessel safe through four such 'great seas; and could not act so independently for the public good as he wished, being obliged to attend to the capricious interests of others, among which he found it difficult to preserve his own. Among the remarkable occurrences of the expedition into Dekkan, was the decline of Jehaun Shaw's influence with his father, and the rise of that of Azeem Ooshawn, of whom till now the emperor had ever been suspicious. The prince Jehaun Shaw was of haughty and independent spirit, ready to take fire on the smallest neglect. This, with the behaviour of his servants, alarmed and displeased the khankhanan, who, for his own safety, watched

^a Meaning the power and influence of the four princes.

an opportunity to destroy his influence in public affairs : a task of no great difficulty, to one well acquainted with the disposition of Shaw Aulum, almost equally warm with his son, who had more than once displeased him by his behaviour, so that he had expressed to him his dissatisfaction. The prince, upon this, thought to prove his disinterestedness and independence, by neglecting to frequent the durbar, and engage in business as usual. Azeem Ooshawn, who had reaped experience in office, and was well versed in the intrigues of a court, perceiving coolness taking place between Jehaun Shaw and the khankhanan, paid so much flattering attention to the latter, that by degrees he gained his confidence. This gave still more offence to Jehaun Shaw, who had too much pride to expostulate, but neglected the minister in return. He soon after fell sick, and his indisposition continuing a long time, gave Azeem Ooshawn ample opportunity of acquiring influence over Shaw Aulum, and the favourites whom his majesty trusted with the fullest confidence ; while he continued to be pleased with them, but, on the smallest disgust, or in their shortest absence, he forgot them altogether.

Azeem Ooshawn having thus gained the credit he aimed at with his father and the minister, employed it in softening the rigour of government against those who laboured under its displeasure ; thinking that, thus obliged by his mediation, they would readily return his favours, by embracing his cause, whenever the death of his father should give him a claim to the empire. It was from this hope, that he advised indulgence to the refractory rajas, and condescended to repair to their camp, and conduct them from thence to his father, permitting them to be accompanied by all their troops armed. Such unusual indulgence was far from answering the end expected by the prince, who should have seen, that it could only tend to display publicly the fears of government, and consequently
must

must reflect dishonour on its adviser, and render him weak in the eyes even of those to whom such uncommon honours were allowed. In short, the two rajas, attended by all their followers, paid their respects to his majesty on the line of march, were gratified with his assent to whatever their insolence demanded, and dismissed to their homes with rich presents and assurances of favour.

When this affair was finished, the emperor marched without delay towards Lahore, not even stopping to make an entrance either at Agra or Dhely. In a short time he arrived at Sirhind, which the rebels deserted on his approach, and retired to ¹ Daber, the original residence of their goorroh or chief, where they fortified themselves as strongly as possible. Though this insurrection was not of such importance as to disturb the general repose of the empire, yet his majesty, defender of the faith, hearing that the malice of the rebels was directed at religion, thought it his duty to go against them in person; in this, copying the example of Aulumgeer, who, in the latter part of his reign, appeared at the siege of every fort belonging to unbelievers; otherwise, what ability had a wretched and infatuated rabble to dare the presence of such a glorious monarch? The exertions of one of the principal ameers, or, at all events, of the princes, would have been equal to the extinction of the rebellion, and explosion of the schism.

The imperial army soon arrived within sight of the goorroh's camp, which lay round the walls of Daber on different heights, commanding the passes to that fortress, situated on a summit, surrounded by hollows, craggy rocks, and deep paths. Shaw Aulum had resolved to lie inactive before the enemy for some time, in hopes by this to render them confident, and tempt them to an

¹ At the entrance of the Sewalic mountains, which connect Hindostan with Thibet.

engagement;

engagement ; on which account he issued positive orders to the princes and all the ameers, not to advance nearer the goorroh's lines on any pretence, however favourable. Some days passed in inactivity, when at length the khankhanan entreated permission of his majesty to advance, with his own followers, to reconnoitre the enemy's position : which was granted, on condition that he should not commence an attack without further orders from the presence. However, when he had arrived within shot of their lines, the enemy began a warm cannonade from their works, while bodies of their infantry on the heights galled him with rockets, musquetry, and arrows. His soldiers, enraged, were not now to be restrained ; and the khankhanan, more jealous of his military fame than fearful of the emperor's displeasure, ventured for once to disobey, by giving directions to attack. He dismounted from his horse, and led his brave troops on foot up the most difficult heights, driving the rebels from them with the greatest rapidity and success. This scene passing within sight of the royal camp, the chiefs and soldiers, emulous of glory, waited not for orders, but hastened to join the attack in great numbers ; while the emperor and the four princes viewed the fight from the squares of their encampments, with a mixture of anger and satisfaction. At last the enemy were driven from all their works, to the narrow summit round the fort of Daber, where they continued to defend themselves in a desperate manner, but without even the hope of escape from general slaughter ; when night coming on, rendered friends and foes undistinguishable to each other. The khankhanan, sure of having the goorroh in his power, gave orders for his troops to cease the attack, and lie upon their arms in their present position, till the morning should enable him to finish it with success. He had, however, unluckily neglected to block up a narrow path leading from the fort to the hills, either because he had not perceived it, or was satisfied that it could not lead but to where the Imperial troops were posted.

posted. The goorroh, a man of great art, generally appeared in the dress and splendor of a prince, when he wished to be public; but, if occasion required privacy, he disguised himself in the habit of a jogie or synassee, in such a manner, that few, even among his own people, could know him. During the night, he, without acquainting his followers of his intentions, changed his habit, and left the fort undiscovered. The khankhanan, about dawn, renewed the attack, and gained the place, after a short struggle, sword in hand, exulting in the certainty of carrying the goorroh dead or alive to the emperor, whose displeasure at his disobedience of orders, would by this service be changed to approbation: but who can relate his weight of grief and disappointment, at finding that his promised prize had escaped, without leaving a trace behind him? The goorroh's speed of foot was uncommon, and he only acquainted with the paths and mazes through the hills that led to the snowy mountains, which he had marked for shelter. The khankhanan lost for an instant almost the use of his faculties, which were absorbed in dread of the emperor's anger, not without reason. As he was, agreeable to custom after an important victory, beating the march of triumph in his way to the royal tents, orders arrived, commanding him to stop the drums, and not dare to enter the presence. He retired, drowned in despair, to his own tents; where he had the cruel mortification of learning every instant, from messengers, that his enemies exulted in his fall from favour, and openly condemned his conduct with malicious zeal in the presence of his majesty, who was highly enraged against him. But though this did not continue long, and Shaw Aulum, regarding his former services, received him again into favour, after a few days, yet this noble and faithful minister never recovered from the effects of the royal ingratitude. This grief, added to the pain he

* Sects of fakeers, or religious mendicants.

felt at seeing three of the princes and the ameer al amra using all arts to complete his ruin, stuck like a poisoned arrow in his breast. He lost all satisfaction from worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in his health; so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death; who never, in the uncounted ages of his office, seized on a soul more pure, or less defiled with the frailties of human nature.

A.H. 1124.

A.C. 1712.

While Shaw Aulum, just as a sovereign, and liberal as a man, reigned over the empire with a gentle hand, in perfect repose, Providence was preparing new revolutions, and Time hastening to disclose events of dreadful importance. The blossoms numerously shooting under the influence of the Imperial spring, were destined to be blasted by the storms of autumn, and only one unkindly fruit to remain on the royal tree. A deadly vapour, poisonous as the piercing venom of the snake, all at once infected the head and heart of Shaw Aulum with pains, violent as from the heavy stroke of the keenest weapon. So instantaneous was the fatal effect, that it gave full reason to imagine it proceeded from poison. He was all at once seized with faintings, which continued without intermission, till, on the 21st of Mohirrim, 1124, being Monday night, he deserted this vain world for that of eternity. He had been, from the first instant of his illness, given over, and the princes and ladies of the haram made continual and loud lamentations round his bed. It happened one day, that, as Mahummud Moiz ad Dien and Azeem Ooshawn were sitting near it, the latter, perceiving under a corner of the pillow a dagger of very exquisite workmanship, took it up to admire the jewels with which it was adorned, and the water of the blade. Upon his drawing it from the scabbard, Moiz ad Dien, jealous of his brother, was seized with a panic. He started

started up, and retired with such precipitation, that he struck the turban from his head against the door of the tent, forgot his slippers at the entrance, and fell down over the ropes. Being assisted to rise and adjust his dress by his servants, who were astonished at his strange actions and appearance, he rode off to his tents with all the speed and hurry possible. This occasioned much alarm in the camp, and I, among many others, hastened towards the 'darbar. I met the prince, with his attendants, pushing on his elephant with frantic haste; upon observing which, I endeavoured to pass unobserved; but he knew me, and sent a messenger to call me to him. As I had previously attached myself to Azeem Ooshawn, I did not obey the mandate, but passed on to the emperor's tents, where I sat down in the guard-room of ²Mahabut Khan, third bukshi, which was close to that of the ameer al amra, who did duty there in person. He sent for me, and I found with him Mirza Shaw-nowaz Khan Suffawee. I had before interested myself, at the desire of both, in bringing about a connection between Azeem Ooshawn and the ameer al amra; for which purpose I had employed Shekh ³Coodderut Oolla as a messenger, and sometimes my grandson, ⁴Einaut Oolla. The ameer al amra now desired me to send the latter to Azeem Ooshawn, to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him, but he returned with a reply laconic and flight, as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of an hundred. It was written in Shekh Coodderut Oolla's (confidant to the prince) own hand, as follows: "As
 " the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this
 " court, and most have already repaired to it, the ameer al amra
 " may also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception,

¹ The court of the emperor, or any other person in high authority.

² Anglicè, Commanding awe.

³ Anglicè, Providence of God.

⁴ Gift of God.

“ in the presence.” When the ameer al amra read this, he shed tears, and said to me, with much emotion, “ You see the manners
 “ of the prince and his advisers ! Whatever is the will of God,
 “ must take place. Alas ! the errors of a favourite, unacquainted
 “ with government, often endanger the very existence of his
 “ master. When fortune frowns on any one, he is sure to do
 “ that which he should not.” After saying this, he immediately
 quitted the guard-room, collected his followers, and moved his
 tents and effects to the quarter of the prince Moiz ad Dien, where
 he thought his services more likely to answer his own interest.

The camp was so disposed, that the tents of the emperor were
 pitched along one bank of the river, and on the other opposite,
 those of the prince Azeem Ooshawn, at a considerable distance
 from the city. The three other princes were encamped nearer to
 it, but Moiz ad Dien almost close to the walls, and the greatest
 part of his train occupied the houses of the nearest streets. The
 influence, riches and power of Azeem Ooshawn, had long raised
 against him the enmity and jealousy of his brethren, who had, for
 their general safety, formed a compact to support each other.
 The ameer al amra had formerly been disgusted at Azeem Ooshawn,
 for preferring to himself, the khankhanan and Mahabut Khan ; from
 which time he had courted alternately Ruffeh Ooshawn and Jehaun
 Shaw. On this occasion, he swore to assist the three brothers in
 effecting the destruction of Azeem Ooshawn, and make an equal
 division of the empire and royal treasures among them.

Azeem Ooshawn, already in possession of the Imperial camp,
 treasury and jewels, had also a vast treasure of his own. Most of
 the principal noblemen had joined him, with their followers ; also

¹ Lahore, situated on the river Rawee, about 200 miles N. of Dhely.

the royal artillery. He had, besides, a very considerable army in his own pay; so that his brothers, though all leagued against him, would have formed but a weak enemy, if he had immediately attacked them. But he acted otherwise: he encamped on the plain, keeping the river to his rear, and began to throw up works to defend himself, instead of courting a general action. Probably this proceeded from tenderness to his brothers, who he thought would in a few days be deserted by their troops, for want of pay, as they possessed little or no money; and that they would either willingly acknowledge him emperor, to obtain settlements, or be delivered into his hands by some of their pretended friends, to gain his favour.

While he thus flattered himself with an easy conquest, the three brothers, by the advice of the ameer al amra, drew all the artillery from the fort of Lahore, and encamped their united forces in one line, making the city their defence to the rear. I happened to be encamped near Mahabut Khan, who immediately, on learning that the ameer al amra had attached himself to Moiz ad Dien, fearing to be plundered by his troops, lost no time in moving off with his family and effects to Azeem Oofhawn, leaving his tents and temporary buildings standing. No sooner was he gone, than the rabble took possession of his camp, which they set on fire, and levelled in an instant with the ground. As, on many accounts, I had resolved to embrace the fortunes of Azeem Oofhawn, I would have gone with him; but the camp being a standing one, I had neglected my tents, parted with my carriages, and erected temporary sheds for my family, so that I was obliged to remain in an alarming situation, almost alone, for four days. I wished to send my women to my house in the city; but the road to it led through the allied armies, where it was probable they might be insulted or plundered. On the fifth day, I was eased of my fears, as a strong

escort came from the prince Azeem Ooshawn to conduct to him Shaw-nowaz Khan, Hummeed ad Dien Khan, and some other noblemen, who waited for this security to join him. With them I reached his camp in safety, where I happily got possession of a square walled about, but without any covering or shade: yet even this was as a palace at the time, as it served to protect my women and family. I now paid my respects to the prince, who received me graciously, conferred upon me many favours, and consulted me on all important occasions. Pecuniary rewards, and titles far above my ambition, were allotted for me, and getting ready to pass the seals: at the same time, orders were dispatched to summon my son, 'Hoshe-dar Khan, to the presence, from which he had been detached some time before on actual service, with a select force; and, to pay him, a large sum of money was sent to me. I refused it, however, as I had not people to secure its safety; and requested also, that the rank of five thousand, and title of Azim Khan, which was preparing for me, might not be confirmed, till the prince should become victorious over his enemies, as I had made a vow not to receive them till he should sit unrivalled on the throne of empire. In fact, I perceived in his weak politics, and want of resolution, the decline of his cause; and saw the burning blasts of summer hastening to destroy the season of spring, as the experienced husbandman can judge of his harvests from the changes of the atmosphere.

When Azeem Ooshawn had intrenched himself, and the three brothers began their approaches to his works on every side, his operations became highly blameable in the eyes of the nobility and officers of experience. It appeared to the public, that the superior force dreaded the inferior; and that those who ought to be the

* Anglicè, Endowed with judgment.

besiegers,

besiegers, were now the besieged. Such was the effect, for Azeem Ooshawn's army grew dispirited daily, while the enemy's gained ardor every hour, at finding that prospect of success, of which in the beginning they had almost despaired. Our soldiers at the works, tired with constant watchings and alarms, grew remiss in their duty: they first required unnecessary assistance, and at last began to desert their posts. The Imperial artillery, to whom a great sum of money had been given as a bounty, became disobedient to orders, and even mutinous, in which points they were followed by those of the household. This behaviour made Azeem Ooshawn change his opinion, that he could purchase victory with money only; so that he opened his treasury but sparingly to the old or new troops, giving, with much reluctance, only one hundred rupees to each trooper who came to offer service with his own horse, for which security was also demanded. At a crisis of this important nature, but few were tempted to quit the service of their old masters, for a sum but inconsiderable in itself, and only attainable with such difficulty. In short, the whole camp began to be alarmed, and even the boldest officers to feel a dread of the ill consequences of being cooped up in unnecessary entrenchments. A cannonade was kept up on both sides for four days, in each of which the three brothers gained some advantage, by advancing their stations nearer to the works of the misguided Azeem Ooshawn.

On the fifth day, Azeem Ooshawn moved from his camp in order of battle, and his son, the prince 'Mahummud Kerreem, though commander of the advanced corps, was with him, instead of being dispatched in front, agreeably to the usual disposition of the line. This was ordered, lest, as the enemy were formed into three bodies, one might gain an advantage over him, and another

* Anglicè, favoured by Mahummud.

intercept his retreat to the grand line, before he could receive proper assistance. Such was the confusion in forming the troops, that the artillery was quite uselessly disposed, and many pieces, deserted by the men, lay overturned on the ground; while some of the chief officers were by their followers left almost alone, on their elephants, before the action began. Soleyman Khan Afghan first advanced to charge the division of Jehaun Shaw, but he was supported by so few of his followers, that he could effect nothing, and was killed in the onset, before he had reached the enemy's post. Jehaun Shaw moved steadily, in slow order, towards Azeem Ooshawn, whose terrified troops began to fall back from around him. The misconducted, but truly brave prince, when he saw his fortune thus unfavourable, though he might have saved himself by mounting a horse and flying from the field, yet scorned to owe his security to dishonour, and would not move from his elephant, but advanced almost alone towards Jehaun Shaw. This action, and submitting to be sacrificed, was one and the same. His elephant driver was killed in the instant, and the few till then remaining friends to his person deserted him to a man. He received many wounds from arrows and shot, so that he soon sunk down fainting upon his seat; while his elephant, without a driver, and furious with pain, ran through the enemy, who pursued him in vain for some hours, and during that time the unfortunate prince died of fatigue and loss of blood*. Sulstaun Mahummud Kerreem, his son, in the height of the confusion, threw himself without hurt from his elephant, and mounting a horse brought him by an attendant, escaped from the field of battle; but only to suffer, shortly after, a worse fate than dying in action.

* Ameen ad Dien Sumbullee says, his elephant rushed with him into the Rawee, and was drowned.

It happened that, at the beginning of the action, the three princes were drawn up nearly opposite that part of the camp where I unfortunately had placed my family in a wretched square, to which the enemy advanced still nearer, as the battle raged, and our troops began to fly. Mahabut Khan, Hummeed ad Dien, and other lords, had in the beginning sent their families across the river to places of safety, which precaution I was prevented from using, by being attendant on Azeem Ooshawn's person in the line. The river was about a rocket's flight from the square inclosure, and upon the rout of our line, Khan Zummaun, my friend, advised me, while the enemy's troops were yet employed in fight, to conduct my women out of danger to the other side; at the same time offering me a boat he had ready for his own security against pursuit, and a guard of one hundred and fifty persons, his own followers. Accordingly I placed my wife and daughter in two covered pallekees, with a sum somewhat exceeding four thousand gold mhor, a casket of jewels, betel plate of gold set with jewels, and other very valuable ornaments belonging to my daughter, designed for her marriage portion, leaving clothes and every thing else to chance. As Providence decreed it, the women's pallekees had just arrived at a narrow inlet of water, about an arrow's flight from the river, when Azeem Ooshawn's elephant, and Mahummud Kerreem's, were running towards it, pursued by the enemy. I was advanced a little in front to prepare the boat, when suddenly one of my attendants cried out, "Where are you going? Your honour is ruined!" I looked behind me, and saw the enemy near my women; upon which, in a state of furious despair, I hastened back with my grandson Meer Einaiut Oolla, as Khan Zummaun's people could not reach me in time for my assistance. We two had just joined the women, when the rapacious Moguls had begun to

* About six thousand pounds sterling, reckoning the mhor at fifteen Sicca rupees.

plunder; upon which I leaped from my horse, and seizing my wife and daughter by each a hand, rushed with them into the rivulet up to their waists, and covered the rest of their persons with a cloth, drawing my sword to defend them with my life from further insult: and, luckily for my honour, their faces were not seen by the eyes of a stranger. The Moguls, more attentive to gain than shedding of blood, after plundering the pallekees and other carriages of every thing, even to the coarsest outer coverings, rode off in search of other prey, without attacking me or my attendants, who were hid in different bushes and hollows. It was during this confusion, that I saw the prince Mahummud Kerreem jump from his elephant, mount a servant's horse, and escape. When the alarm was over, and friends and enemies had passed by, I was joined by my servants from their various shelters, and, having replaced my women in the pallekees, returned to my late miserable dwelling, which had been also plundered, even to foot-cloths and carpets. No pillows or seats were left us but the bare ground, and no apparel but that drenched in water on our backs; nevertheless, I gave grateful thanks to the Almighty for the preservation of my life and honour, with a sincere fervor. With the approach of night the confusion slackened, and about nine o'clock all was over, and quiet restored. I then said to myself, "What is gone, is gone!" and, with a calm mind, recited one hundred and twenty verses of the 'Mefnavi, besides an ode applicable to the present state of affairs.

The prince Jehaun Shaw, who had taken possession of the camp of the vanquished, in the morning sent covered carriages and other necessaries to me, with a gracious message, desiring that I would come, and pitch my tents near his own. I went accordingly, and was introduced to him. He was sitting alone, under a canopy,

* The Mefnavi is a collection of moral poems, by Molewee Jellal ad Dien Roomi.

near his private apartments. When he saw me, he exclaimed, in a joyful voice, "Come, Azim Khan, for thy arrival is at a happy season! I was anxious to see thee." He then took off the *khe-laut*, which he had put on just before, and gave it to me, with the *munsub* of ² six thousand, saying, "I have left one degree of rank to confer upon you on the day of my accession to a throne." After which he dismissed me in a gracious manner, and I took up my station near that of ³ *Lutfóolla Khan Saduk*, his first minister.

Jehaun Shaw, who had gained the victory over *Azeem Ooshawn*, judging, from the purity of his own intentions, that those of his two brothers and the *ameer al amra* were equally just towards him, though fortune had placed all the treasures of the vanquished in his power, scorned to use this advantage, contrary to his oath of alliance. He sent the body of *Azeem Ooshawn* to *Moiz ad Dien*; and, when all the plunder of his camp was collected, delivered the whole without delay into the hands of the *ameer al amra*, who, agreeable to treaty and his own oaths, was to make an impartial division of the provinces and treasures between the brothers. This strictness to his word was the cause of his ruin. The *ameer al amra* had privately resolved to seat *Moiz ad Dien* on the throne without a rival, as he was a weak prince, fond of his pleasures, averse from business, and consequently best suited to the purpose of a minister, ambitious of uncontrouled power. With this view, he, on various pretences, delayed making a division of the treasure, knowing that the troops of *Jehaun Shaw* and *Ruffeh Ooshawn* were already mutinously clamorous for the payment of their long arrears, and much

¹ *Anglicè*, Noble lord; the title which *Azeem Ooshawn* had offered to confer on him.

² Seven thousand was properly the highest rank of nobility. In the decline of the empire, rank of eight and ten thousand was conferred on powerful ministers.

³ *Anglicè*, God's mercy. *Saduk*, *Anglicè* True, was his family name.

disgusted at being deprived of the great plunder they had expected from the camp of Azeem Ooshawn, which had been seized from their grasp by the strict discipline and honour of Jehaun Shaw. The ameer al amra, with seeming attachment, visited the princes as usual, and three days passed over without their expressing distrust at his delay; but their friends clearly saw his designs, and warned Jehaun Shaw against his treachery; offering to prevent their completion, by putting him to death, when he should come next to pay his respects. The honourable and noble-minded prince refused his assent to such proposals, saying, "I cannot consent to such dishonourable and perfidious dealing, for which I should become heinously guilty in the eyes of God, and amongst men marked as a traitor and abuser of power. If empire is decreed me, I shall attain it without trouble; but, if not, of what avail is treachery, or unjust shedding of human blood?" At his next visit, he openly told the ameer al amra the suspicions entertained of his conduct, saying, "Even now, perhaps, thy family is dreading that I may be putting thee to death; which, however politic, I scorn to do by fraud. Rise then, and go in peace to thine own house." The ameer al amra departed with a speed and precipitation declaring his guilt. The veil, with which he had covered his designs, became no longer of use; but, instead of feeling gratitude to Jehaun Shaw for suffering him to live, his enmity increased. He now openly avowed his destruction, and his intentions to support Moiz ad Dien. Though Jehaun Shaw, virtuous and religiously faithful to his word, was generous and just in this great action, yet the policy of government will not admit of such conduct being copied as an example of propriety. The world is deceitful, and cannot be commanded but by deceit. The thief, who should wake his sleeping prey, would only bring ruin on his own head. Virtue and vice being direct opposites, cannot exist in one dwelling. That, the foundation of which is evil, cannot be supported but by evil.

When the ameer al amra had openly refused to perform his agreement, Jehaun Shaw, furious at his behaviour, moved his camp opposite to the treacherous nobleman's, and prepared to offer battle without delay. He had just now the fairest prospect of every success; a fine army, attached to his person with one mind, good artillery, and a great character among his own and the enemy's troops. But—how uncertain is fortune! This night, by permission of God, a fire broke out in the artillery camp: all the rockets and stores of ammunition were destroyed, and our army rendered in one instant totally useless. The merit of this important mischief was afterwards claimed by Rajee Khan Maneckporee, who said the fire was purposely kindled by his spies, for a large bribe. This man was originally of low character and little esteem, but for this service he was gradually raised from a post in the artillery, by Moiz ad Dien, to the rank of six thousand. Immediately after this dreadful accident, Roostum Dil Khan and Mukhlis Khan hastened to one of the Imperial powder-works, and obtained some fresh supplies; but the troops, much dispirited with their loss, now became clamorous for money, and began to desert in great numbers. In short, the spirit of the army was changed, so that, excepting Lutfoolla Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and a few others who remained faithful, all the chiefs forfeited their honours, and Jehaun Shaw, plainly perceiving the wavering of his followers, thought it most advisable to prevent worse consequences, by putting all to the hazard of an immediate engagement. The next morning at the dawn of day, (being Monday, *anno* 1124,) he formed his line, and began a cannonade, which was answered by the enemy, and kept up on both sides till mid-day with equal success. At length the fire of Jehaun Shaw began to slacken, and his troops to separate on various pretences, as want of water, guarding their baggage, and the like; so that near half the army deserted gradually, in spite of the prince's repeated orders to maintain the line.

A.C. 1712.

Observing this, he raised a report that the ameer al amra was killed by a shot, in consequence of which the enemy were alarmed, and that he should immediately charge them, in order to improve so favourable an event. As he sounded the march of victory, his troops believed him, and returned most of them to their posts. He then commanded Janee Khan, Roostum Dil Khan, and Mukhlis Khan, to charge one flank of the enemy, and Lootfulla Khan and others in front, he himself heading this last division. It was now about four o'clock, when Jehaun Shaw, without looking behind him to see how he was supported by his troops, advanced on the enemy's center with a furious speed, where the ameer al amra was standing with a few followers, to reconnoitre. Moiz ad Dien had before retired to repose in his tents. Roostum Dil Khan and other chiefs rushed through all opposition to that quarter, gained the tents, and plundered even the ladies of the haram, among whom were many belonging to the late emperor. Moiz ad Dien, roused from sleep, without regarding their safety, fled to seek his own, undressed as he was, with the ameer al amra, who was engaged against Jehaun Shaw in unequal combat, as he had only with him three or four hundred horse. At this time Ruffeh Ooshawn, who seemingly supported Moiz ad Dien, but was waiting for an opportunity to destroy both him and Jehaun Shaw, appeared in the rear of the latter with his whole force. A corps of infantry also now opposed him in front, not only stopping his charge, but confusing his troops; who, seeing themselves likely to be surrounded, lost all spirit, and fled to a man on the right and left, leaving him exposed alone upon his elephant: and he was soon killed by a musquet shot. His son, Ferkhundeh Akhter, a prince of most promising bodily and mental accomplishments, who sat behind him, descended and fought with his scymetar, till he could stand no longer, and then fell down dead, covered with wounds. Both the bodies were

Anglicæ, Of fortunate star.

carried

carried immediately to the ameer al amra, who ordered the march of victory to be founded. Jehaun Shaw, heroic, just and benevolent, was all perfect; but still, as Providence opposed his fortune, all his plans turned out directly contrary to their proposed end, and what seemed to promise success, became the cause of misfortune. Men judge vainly from events, saying, if he had not done so, thus would or could not have happened: but, alas! in whose power are events? Our faculties, our strength, our thoughts, our friends, are all moved by the instigation of Providence. Nothing can happen without a cause, yet our ruin is often brought on by the very causes which had before occasioned our success; for God doeth that which pleaseth him, and effecteth that which he hath designed.

When the day of this fun of royalty had sunk in the evening of death, there now remained no other rivals than Moiz ad Dien and Ruffeh Ooshawn. The latter had the firmest reliance on the attachment and oaths of the ameer al amra, who, during the life of the late emperor, had been supported by him in the strongest manner against the khankhanan. He also had honoured him, at his own request, by the appellation of uncle, and 'exchange of turbans; so that he now hoped, as one sovereign seemed to be his choice, that it might rest upon him, in preference to his elder brother. On this account, he had resolved to wait as a spectator of the struggle, till the fall of one of his rivals, and then to rush upon the survivor, while flushed with victory, and unguarded against a new enemy. This design he now communicated to his followers, and desired them to support him in an immediate attack on Moiz ad Dien; but they would not consent, either through fear or treachery, pretending that the dawn of morning was more favour-

* The exchange of turbans, among the orientals, is the most sacred pledge of friendship, and any breach of it, after such ceremony, regarded with horror.

able than the present instant; so that the prince was obliged to stop, and wait their pleasure. He spent the night under arms, with sleepless impatience for the return of day; but some of his false advisers communicated his plan to the ameer al amra, and promised to assist in the destruction of their patron.

Just as the morning was beginning to appear, Ruffeh Ooshawn advanced silently towards the enemy, hoping to surprize them; but, before he had reached their camp, the commanding officer of his artillery, either through treachery or ignorance, fired a gun towards the quarter of Moiz ad Dien, which roused his sleeping troops. The alarm was immediately sounded, and the enemy's cannon soon began to play furiously. Who now would stand to support Ruffeh Ooshawn? The greatest number of his followers fled in confusion to the right and left, while Buddukshee, a chief in whom he had reposed the greatest confidence, and whom he had saved from being put to death by his father, whom he had raised to honours, and supported with a liberality unbounded, having privately agreed with the ameer al amra, ungratefully turned his arms against him at this instant. The unhappy prince was in a short time left alone, surrounded by his enemies on every side; but truly brave and spirited, regarding the honour and reputation of the family of Timur, notwithstanding his delicacy and seeming effeminate softness, he threw himself from his elephant, and, drawing the sabre of glory from the scabbard of honour, fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants. But what could he effect, more than sell one life at the expence of many? He was soon hewed down with repeated wounds, and resigned his breath to him who gave it. May the Almighty shew mercy to his soul! We are from God, and to him we must return.

Such courage, I must with justice remark, never appeared among the descendants of Timur, as shewn by the offspring of Aulumgeer;
nor

nor do the various histories I have read, record the like gallant opposition of a prince singly against numbers. True valour is proved in the extremity of danger ; but it is easy to assume the appearance of courage in the day of safety.

Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, by the assistance of Providence alone, now founded the march of victory and unrivalled empire. He permitted the mangled bodies of his martyred and more worthy brothers to be kept three days on the field of battle, exposed to public view. They were afterwards conveyed to Dhely, and interred without ceremony or pomp, in the mausoleum of the emperor Humaioon, the general receptacle of the murdered princes of the Imperial family. The mausoleums which they had erected for themselves, near the tombs of their favourite saints, of marble, jasper, and other rich stones, were bestowed on the minions of Lall Koor, a public dancer, and mistress to the weak Jehaundar Shaw.

Be it known to those of enlightened understandings, and to the acquainted with the usages of the world, that if, in the relation of the affairs of my liege and hereditary lord, the emperor Moiz ad Dien Jehaundar Shaw, some observations and expressions should escape my pen, contrary to respect, and the examples of the historiographers of princes, they will not proceed from disaffection or a prejudiced mind. I know they are improper from the pen of a servant, and God forgive me ! but by them I mean no disaffection to his person, or disrespect to the family of Timur ; no vent of my own spleen ; no view to flatter a successor, by disparaging his rival, nor malicious abuse for the neglect or disappointment I may have suffered during this reign. I swear by God, and God is a sacred witness of oaths, that I loved him as my sovereign ; but, as it was incumbent on me to record the actions of the reigning prince, good or bad, wise or foolish, in public and private, if they were,
without

without one exception, all unworthy, what can I say, as a faithful writer? Let it be remembered, that I was nourished for fifty years under the benignant shadow of the great and glorious emperor Aulumgeer. How sad the alteration I now beheld! Of this man, this wretched idiot, opposite to him in every quality, succeeding to the very same empire, sitting on the very same throne, and the actions he did, what can I say, or in what terms paint the disgraces they suffered by his accession?—I had beheld upon the throne an emperor. Warmth of expression operates in advice: the friends to the 'Imaums, from the ardor of their loyalty to the house of Ali, heightened their style, and represented with all the eloquence of zeal (for which they have been ever praised by good men) that the oppressed might draw the sword against a worthless tyrant. But I only mean a warning to the family of Timur; for the head of which, let his character be what it may, if I hesitate to sacrifice my life, may I be numbered with traitors, and abhorred by my friends!

When Jehaundar Shaw, by the intrigues and support of the ameer al amra Zoolfeccar Khan, had triumphed over his three brothers, and ascended the throne of empire without the fear or dread of a competitor, all the customs of time were changed. He was in himself a weak man, effeminately careful of his person, fond of ease, indolent, and totally ignorant of the arts of government. He had also blemishes and low vices unworthy of royalty, and unknown among his illustrious ancestors. He made the vast empire of Hindostan an offering to the foolish whims of a public courtesan, which tortured the minds of worthy subjects loyal to his family. The relations, friends and minions of the mistress, usurped absolute

^a The two chief Imaums were the sons of Ali, by the daughter of Mahummud, and were put to death by the caliph Maweeah, one by poison, and the other in battle, with all their children except one, from whom descended the other ten Imaums, and the race of Syeds, so highly respected among the Mahummedans.

authority in the state; and high offices, great titles, and unreasonable grants from the Imperial domains, were showered profusely on beggarly musicians. ¹Two corores of rupees annually were settled for the household expences of the mistress only, exclusive of her cloaths and jewels. The emperor frequently rode with her in a chariot through the markets, where they purchased, agreeable to whim, sometimes jewels, gold, silks, and fine linen; at others, greens, fruits, and the most trifling articles. A woman named ²Zohera, keeper of a green-stall, one of Lall Koor's particular friends, was promoted to a high rank, with a suitable jaghire, and

¹ About two millions sterling.

² The celebrated Nizam al Mulluk, who at this time lived a very retired life at Dhely, was one day passing in a palankeen, with only a few attendants, when, in a narrow street, he was met by Zohera, who was riding on an elephant, with a great train of servants. The nizam endeavoured to get out of the way; but, notwithstanding this, Zohera's servants were insolent to his attendants, and, as she passed by, she exclaimed, "Are you the son of the blind man?" This enraged the nizam, who commanded his people to pull her from her elephant; which they did, with rudeness. She complained to the mistress, who prevailed on the weak Jehaundar to take notice of it, and command Zoolfeccar Khan to punish the nizam. The nizam had suspected this to happen, and had informed the minister of the affair. When Jehaundar Shaw spoke to him, he was answered, that, to punish the nizam for having corrected an insolent upstart, would enrage all the nobility, who would consider the honour of the order as hurt by any affront to the nizam. Jehaundar, upon this, did not enforce his commands.

Upon Jehaundar Shaw's promoting one of his mistress's relations, a musician, to a high rank, Zoolfeccar Khan, ameer al amra, out of sneer, demanded of the new-made lord, as a fee for putting his seal of office to the patent, one thousand small tabors. The musician complained to Lall Koor, his patroness, of the indignity offered him; and she told the emperor, insisting that he should reprimand the ameer al amra. Jehaundar Shaw accordingly reproached the minister, who ironically replied, that, as music was the best recommendation with his majesty for promotion, he had asked the tabors to deliver out to persons of family, that they might, by practising upon them, qualify themselves for high office, and succeed as well as their inferiors, the musicians. Jehaundar Shaw felt the force of the satire, and, being afraid of his minister, withdrew the patent.

M

her

her relations exalted to the emperor's favour, which they used to promote the interests of the courtiers, for large bribes : nor did the nobility decline their patronage, but forgetting their honour, and sacrificing decency to the present advantage, eagerly flocked to pay adoration to the royal idols, whose gates were more crowded with equipages in general than those of the Imperial palace, so that to pass through the street where they resided was a matter of difficulty, by reason of the throng. To do them justice, many of them had generous minds, and performed various good actions in the use of their influence at court. The ridiculous jaunts of the emperor and his mistress at last grew to such a pitch, that on a certain night, after spending the day in debauchery, and visiting different gardens near the city, in company with Zohera the herb-woman, they retired to the house of one of her acquaintance who sold spirits, with which they all became intoxicated. After rewarding the woman with a large sum, and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival, Lall Koor was taken out by her women; but the emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the machine, carried it to the stables. The officers of the palace, after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them immediately to examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at the distance of nearly two miles from the palace. This scandalous event afforded matter of offence to all good subjects, but of mirth and laughter to the weak Jehaundar and his abandoned favourites. He after this still more exposed his vices to the public, often, as he passed through the streets, seizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradesmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar superstition,

superstition, he bathed with Lall Koor, concealed only by a single cloth, in the fountain of the 'Lamp of Dhely, in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy. Happy was the day in which he was bathed in his own blood! The mistress had the insolence to abuse the princess 'Zebe al Nissa, daughter of the emperor Aulumgeer, and aunt to Jehaundar Shaw, with expressions so vile as were unbecoming the meanest person. This princess had neglected to pay compliments to her, which she received from other ladies of rank, and Lall Koor, enraged at this, seized the emperor to reprove his aunt, and oblige her to shew attention towards her; but all was vain. However, he so far complied with her unreasonable entreaties, that he left off visiting the princess, and declined going to an entertainment she had prepared for him, without inviting Lall Koor. How shall I relate all his follies? The above-mentioned are sufficient to shew the sad changes of affairs, public and private. His other indecencies are too unworthy of record to relate.

The ameer al amra, Zoolfeccar Khan, seater, nay even creator of emperors, with such an image of humanity in his hands, became absolute, and so proud, that 'Pharaoh and Shudad could not have obtained admission to his threshold. He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put them to death, or disgrace them, that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He established such exactions and abuses as no prior age had beheld, and by which now he is alone remembered. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a

* A celebrated fakeer so entitled.

• Anglicè, Ornament of the sex.

• Pharaoh, and a king of Yemum, or Arabia Felix.

hand so sparing, that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed jaghires to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or distant, friends or strangers, were turned against him, and wished his destruction. Hindoos and Mussulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of an hundred years.

Kokultash Khan, foster-brother to the emperor, and brought up with him from his childhood, was honoured with the title of Khan Jehaun. His wife, daughter, and whole family, also possessed great influence with the emperor, and claimed from him performance of a promise he had made to them of the vizurut. At the same time, they and their adherents combined to work the overthrow of the ameer al amra. With this view, all their relations and dependants were raised to high rank; and a great number of the nobility, distressed by the pride and rapacity of Zoolfeccar Khan, joined their party. They insinuated to the emperor, that the ameer al amra entertained designs too ambitious for a subject, to attain which he would dare to shed the blood of princes; that he had already determined on a revolution, and either to seize the throne for himself, or, if he found that too dangerous, to bestow it on 'Ali Tibbar, or another of the confined princes, more favourable to his will than his majesty.

The weak Jehaundar, unendowed with the least judgment or courage, was alarmed almost to madness with the frightful picture of his own situation; but he had not firmness to oppose the dreaded evils, nor sense to keep his fears secret. The intrigues of Kokultash Khan soon became evident to the whole court, and only served to awaken the vigilance of the ameer al amra, who took measures

* The only surviving son of Azim Shaw, son of the emperor Aurungzebe.

for his own safety, by removing his enemies. Roostum Dil Khan, Mukhlis Khan, and some others, were put to death, and a great number of the nobility laid under confinement on various pretences. The family of the late ¹ khankhanan was reduced so low as to want the common necessities of life. In short, the disposition of the ameer al amra changed altogether from gentleness to the highest pitch of tyranny, so that he now punished with cruelty the persons who had years before knowingly, or otherwise, given him the slightest causes of offence. I, who had differed with him in opinions during the life of Bedar Bukht, and frequently warned the late emperor against his aspiring views, had also been the friend and confidant of his mortal enemy the khankhanan, and of a different party in the late struggle, had not a hope of escaping from his hands, or those of Jehaundar Shaw, who had commanded me to be searched for, and put to death. Thinking it in vain to attempt concealment in Lahore, I had written the following verses, and sent them to him by my grandson, Meer Einaiut Oolla, who was much in his favour.

“ My ancestors were attached to ² Ali without views of gain. I
 “ am of the family of Ali; thou art the ³ Zoolfeccar of ⁴Hyder.
 “ Remember, I have no chief but thee. I repent of my faults in
 “ some degree, and am come ashamed to thy tribunal. Though I
 “ am meaner than words can express, yet I am of the ⁵ family of
 “ which thou art head. Thou art now the guardian of our ho-
 “ nour: look not at me, but upon our mutual ancestors.”

¹ The celebrated Monauim Khan.

² The son-in-law of Mohammud. Here it means Azeem al' Shawn.

³ A two-bladed sword of Ali's.

⁴ A title given to Ali.

⁵ A syed, or descendant from the prophet's daughter Fatima, by Ali.

At first he did not trouble himself to open the paper, upon which I sent a second time, when he perused it with attention, and desired the messenger to call me to him; but I did not comply with his invitation, to which I answered, that he had prevailed with promises of safety on many to visit him, and afterwards confined or put them to death; that if such was his design towards me, there was no occasion to use art, as I would of my own accord put on my shroud, and come prepared for the worst before him. To this he answered, by solemn oaths, that he meant no injury towards me; so that I was satisfied, and went to visit him without dread. He received me in his private apartment, to which I was admitted armed, as usual, and he rose from his musnud to salute me, behaving every way with much kindness, and more than I expected; after which he dismissed me, with assurances of protection. He the same day asked the emperor's pardon for me, which was immediately passed; but his majesty observed, that though he forgave, he would not on any account employ me in his service. The ameer al amra too made me promise, that I would not accept of any office in the state, otherwise than through his patronage. I complied with his desire without regret, as, independent of the obligations I owed to him, there was no temptation left to court employment in a state which had in fact no head; for the ministry was a collection of petty tyrants, and abusers of power.

During the nine months in which Jehaundar Shaw, like an embryo, lay in the womb of empire, I did not attempt to procure an office, but lived in perfect retirement, except that I now and then unavoidably paid a visit to the ameer al amra, who would frequently ask my advice in public affairs, which I gave him to the extent of my understanding.

In the height of this power and authority, (while the claim of *I am, and no one else*, was gaining strength,) all at once a report was

heard that the prince Ferokhsere, son to the martyred Azeem Ooshawn, had marched from Bengal towards Bahar, intending to revenge his father's death, and seize the throne. Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra, though they feigned to disbelieve the intelligence, and despise the attempt, yet in their hearts were struck with dread. Great numbers of the Imperial servants wished secretly for the success of the rebellion. While the ameer al amra was fortunate, he saw affairs in a proper light: while at Lahore, he had repeatedly advised Jehaundar Shaw not to remain more than a week in Dhely, but to proceed to Agra, and, if necessary, to the eastern provinces, as the dread of his power would not be impressed fully in the breasts of his subjects, while Ferokhsere refused to pay allegiance. Jehaundar Shaw, on his arrival at Dhely, fascinated by the various luxuries it afforded, forgot the advice of his minister, and chose to remain, indulging himself in low pleasures, moving only from palace to palace, and garden to garden. Kokultash Khan and his party persuaded him that the ameer al amra had excited this rebellion, and engaged privately with Ferokhsere, to whom he would deliver his majesty a prisoner, should he prevail on him to march from the capital. These ideas served to increase the fears of the weak Jehaundar Shaw. He would often exclaim, "I did not kill Azeem Ooshawn: it was the ameer al amra, who must now go and answer the claims of his son, for satisfaction. What have I to do with the business?" The other plans of an emperor, who was thus overcome by fear, may easily be guessed, and need no explanation. The ameer al amra, offended at the distrusts of his master, did not attend as he ought to business, but employed his time also in pleasure, and forwarding his own immediate interest.

Syed Abdoolla Khan Bareah, and his brother Houssain Ali Khan, had gained great honour by their behaviour in the service of Azim Shaw,

Shaw, after whose death they had attached themselves to Azeem Ooshawn, by whom they were honoured, the former with the government of Allahabad, and the latter of the province of Bahar. During the late contests for the empire, they had, for their own safety and that of the country, expended, without orders, considerable sums of the Imperial revenues in the maintenance of extraordinary troops, which had offended Jehaundar Shaw. On his accession to the throne, he appointed Rajee Khan Maneckporee to the government of Allahabad, who sent one of his relations, with a considerable force, to take possession; but he was opposed, defeated, and driven back by Abdoolla Khan. Ferokhsere's rebellion just then arising, the ameer al amra thought it advisable to dispatch an Imperial firmaun, approving Abdoolla Khan's conduct, and confirming him in his government, disclaiming also any assent to the attempts to remove him. Abdoolla Khan pretended gratitude and obedience for the royal favours, in order to avoid farther trouble from the court, but which he had resolved to serve no longer than he found necessary. When Ferokhsere arrived in Bahar, he was immediately joined by Syed Houssain Ali Khan, who was faithfully attached to him, as the son of his patron Azeem Ooshawn. The court of Dhely weakly imagined, that Abdoolla Khan would stop the progress of the prince at Allahabad. Firmauns of encouragement, and great promises, were dispatched to purchase his loyalty, instead of armies to secure it. While the rebellion was daily gathering force, the emperor's ministers, divided against each other, were undetermined how to act. Kokultash Khan refused to take the command of an army, if the ameer al amra remained at Dhely, pretending that the emperor was not safe in his hands; and the latter did not think it proper to quit the court, where, in his absence, such a dangerous rival must possess the whole power. Jehaundar Shaw did not dare to think, much less to fix, whom he should entrust with the command of the army; for so great was his

his fear, that one day, when the daughter of Kokultash Khan, presuming on her familiarity, insisted that her father should be declared vizier, and the ameer al amra be sent from Dhely, he replied with terror, " Hold your peace, or ' he will put us all to " death in an instant."

At last it was resolved that ' Aiz ad Dien, eldest son of Jehaundar Shaw, should march at the head of an army against the rebels, under the tutelage of Khaja Houffsein, Khan Downan, son-in-law to Kokultash Khan, a weak man, who never, unless in dreams, had seen a shot fired. The troops who marched with him did not amount to six thousand, though there were among the officers many ameers of the highest rank. On his arrival at Agra, he was joined by Iauts, Rajapootes, and great numbers of other rabble; also many Fojedours, who covered ground, but were no better than droves of cattle to devour provisions; however, he had with him a fine train of artillery. From Agra, Aiz ad Dien marched without delay to ' Etawa, and from thence to ' Cudjwa, where Ferokhsere had arrived with the two Syeds, and near seventy thousand horse and foot, mostly adventurers, who served from the hope of benefiting themselves by a revolution.

The two camps being thus near, on the 29th of Showal, early in the morning, Syed Abdoolla Khan and others advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position. This brought on a skirmish, and afterwards a cannonade on both sides, which continued till night, without much execution; but Khan Dowran, a perfect stranger to

¹ Meaning the ameer al amra.

² Elder brother of the late, and uncle to the present emperor.

³ A large town on the Jumna, thirty coss to the eastward of Agra.

⁴ A considerable town in the district of Kora, where Aurungzebe and Sultan Shujah formerly engaged.

war, was much alarmed at the dangers of his new profession. He thought he should do the state most service by saving the prince from (as he conceived) inevitable destruction. Accordingly, unknown to his officers, about midnight he fled with him in a woman's covered palankeen, stopping not till he arrived at Agra, from whence he dispatched to court accounts of his gallant service, and zealous care of the heir-apparent. The officers of his army, in the morning, finding their chief had fled, laid aside all thoughts of resistance, and each provided for his own safety. Most went over to the service of Ferokhsere, and the remainder returned precipitately towards Agra. Syed Abdoolla Khan would not allow them to be pursued, and, what has often perplexed my understanding to account for, advised Ferokhsere to halt some time in the camp of the fugitives, instead of following his success with rapidity. The news of the defeat reaching Dhely, threw the court into such confusion, that no other plan was at first resolved on, than to wait the enemy's approach in the vicinity of the city, and hazard all in one engagement, as it was expected time would not allow of more distant operations. Accordingly, Rajee Khan was ordered with the Imperial artillery to Feridabad, where ground was chosen for the general camp, and preparations made for the emperor's march.

As soon as it became known that Ferokhsere had not advanced beyond the field of battle, Jehaundar Shaw altered his resolution of remaining at Dhely, and began his march towards Agra. On his arrival there, the ameer al amra opened the royal treasures, which had been for ages laid up, disposing of money, jewels, plate, and valuable effects, to the amount of two crores of rupees, among the troops, who now were seventy thousand horse, and foot without number. Most of them too were veteran soldiers, but little affected

* About three coss from the city.

to the royal cause, as they had experienced flights in the days of peace, and knew this profuse bounty to proceed only from the necessity of the times. The Imperial army encamped at first near the gardens of Dehera; but, upon intelligence arriving that Ferokhsere had advanced to Eatimadpore, near the river, intending to cross, it was thought advisable to move along the opposite bank to prevent him. Both armies remained a week thus, in sight of each other; and people of judgment decided, in their own minds, that victory would be to that prince who should first cross and attack his rival.

On the night of the 13th of Zeekaud, intelligence was received that the Syeds had, by a countermarch of twenty miles, gained the ford of Gaow Ghaut, and crossed the river with their advanced corps and all the artillery; also that Ferokhsere, with his whole army, intended to follow the next day. I was present when this news was brought to the ameer al amra, who, on hearing it, was visibly affected and alarmed, as were all the nobility then present in his train. Orders of march were issued for the next morning, to meet the enemy, whose camp was, by the late manoeuvre, removed ten coss distant. Jehaundar Shaw moved accordingly, but halted before he had sight of the enemy, encamping on the broken ground and hollow ways on the banks of the Jumna. This dispirited the troops, who judged that their generals had chosen a strong position, more from fear of a sudden attack, than proper caution and judgment of the ground. The next morning, however, the Imperial army continued the march to Secundra, and the day after to Gaow Ghaut, where the enemy's troops were still crossing, and Ferokhsere had not as yet come to this side. The ameer al amra, with a number of nobility, advanced in front to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, as did also the emperor, when he arrived with the main army. The Syeds, notwithstanding their inferior force, drew up

A.H. 1124.
A.C. 1712.

to receive them, but the ameer al amra chose to defer taking advantage of his present situation, as it was now late in the afternoon, and the fall of night, during an action, would create much confusion and disorder. With this idea, he chose to encamp on the banks of a rivulet which ran between him and the enemy.

Early in the morning of the next day, which began with heavy clouds and rain, I went to visit the ameer al amra, who was just come from the emperor's tents, and preparing to take some refreshment; upon which, I asked my dismissal, and returned to my own tents, intending to sleep. By this time the clouds had dispersed, and the sun shone very bright. A little after mid-day, I was alarmed by the drums beating to arms, and a confused noise, when running to my door, I saw the ameer al amra mounting his elephant with great haste, and undressed; upon which I got ready my attendants, about forty persons, and followed him with all possible speed. Upon my arrival, he was standing upon elevated ground, looking round him. I asked what had caused the alarm, when he replied, that the enemy were drawing out their line, seemingly with intentions to cannonade. Our troops now hastened to form, the ameer al amra in front, and upon his right Kokultash Khan. In the center stood the emperor, Jehaundar Shaw, attended by Rajee Khan, with the royal artillery. To the left were the troops of Mortuzza Khan Bukshi, and many other amras. The enemy's army advanced slowly till within reach of cannon-shot, when they played upon us with their artillery and rockets, which were answered with great fury by Rajee Khan. Every one knows that, after an engagement is once begun, it is impossible for a single person to see more of the operations than those on the immediate spot of his own post; how then can I say, I distinctly viewed every change of two lines covering ground of miles in extent? An author once read to Aurungzebe a long account of one

of his battles with Dara Shekkoh. The emperor observed at the conclusion, that he must certainly have been upon a high mountain during the engagement, which he had seen so minutely, as he himself, though commanding the line, and mounted on an elephant, did not perceive one-third of the particulars he had described. In short, I shall only relate what I saw. After a cannonade of some time, I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge our's, one with a red, and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Raja Jubbeleh Ram, and the latter of Syed Houssain Ali Khan. Observing that our right flank was much exposed, I remarked it to the ameer al amra, who immediately dispatched orders for Abdul Summud Khan to move with the mistress's troops to that quarter. The first body of the enemy charged directly on Kokultash Khan, and the other pushing through the line of our artillery, which was deserted as it approached, attacked the center, in which was Jehaundar Shaw. Our troops fell back upon the camp, and great confusion took place, as the men, elephants and horses, became entangled among the ropes of tents, carriages and baggage. Numbers fled, but the ameer al amra remained firm, and the enemy was kept long at a stand by his gallantry and steadiness; but he was ill-supported, though Syed Houssain Ali Khan fell wounded in the field, and Jubbeleh Ram was not more successful in his charge on Kokultash Khan. It was now about five o'clock, when affairs were thus doubtful; but just then Syed Abdoola Khan, with a great body, charged Jehaundar Shaw, who stood with his troops, already alarmed, some distance in the rear of the ameer al amra. They scarce waited to be attacked, but broke their line, and fled in confusion on all sides, while the women's elephants, those of the jewel office and treasury, ran here and there, carrying disorder along with them. Jehaundar Shaw hastily joined the corps of Kokultash Khan, and was pursued by the enemy, who thus forced him between two fires, Ferokhsere having

having now come to the assistance of Jubbeleh Ram, who had renewed the attack in front. Kokultash Khan was killed after a short struggle, his troops dispersed, and Jehaundar Shaw disappeared from his elephant. This made the rout general, and only the ameer al amra kept his ground. When he could hear no tidings of the emperor, and it became dark, he retired slowly to Shaw Gunge, near the city, where he remained till midnight, dispatching messengers on all sides in search of his sovereign, with the hopes, if he could be found, of rallying the troops, and making one more effort the next day; but all in vain. Jehaundar Shaw could not be found; upon which he thought proper to provide for his own safety, and marched away towards Dhely. Thus, in the space of a few hours, was this government destroyed, and another possessed of absolute authority. The robe of empire graced the august person of Ferekhfere, who founded the joyful march of triumph.

Though I was not in the service of any one, and had no enmity to either party, yet I remained in the field till the ameer al amra had retired, when thinking it best to provide for my own safety, I entered the city with about a hundred persons who sought my protection, and retired to one of my own gardens, where I enjoyed perfect repose from my fatigues. In the morning, I wrote to Syed Abdoolla Khan, with whom I was formerly on terms of friendship, expressing my desire of leave to visit him, and be introduced to the new emperor. He replied to my letter with much kindness, and I paid my compliments to him as he passed by my dwelling the following day, when he carried me with him to his own house. The emperor Ferokhsere entered the city the next morning, to pray in public at the tomb of Akber, on his return from whence I was allowed to pay him my respects. Syed Abdoolla Khan marched towards Dhely the day after, and chose to take me with him, which I did not think proper to decline. As yet, it was not certainly

tainly known to what quarter Jehaundar Shaw and the ameer al amra had fled. Affud ad Dowlah, father to the latter, was in the command of Dhely, and had in his power the confined princes. It was apprehended that the ameer al amra would retreat to Dekkan with his master, but he not finding that prince, thought proper to go to Dhely. Jehaundar Shaw, who had shaved his beard and whiskers to prevent being known, arrived a short time before the ameer al amra, at the palace of Affud ad Dowlah. This was soon known throughout the city; upon which the friends to the family of Azeem Ooshawn surrounded the house, and demanded the delivery of the royal fugitive into their charge. Affud ad Dowlah was obliged to confine him, to suppress their clamours. Making a virtue of necessity, he wrote a petition to Ferokhsere, implying, that he had imprisoned Jehaundar in his own house, and waited the Imperial orders concerning his disposal. In return, firmauns were dispatched applauding his conduct, forgiving all past offences, and continuing him in the vizarut, with Syed Abdoollah Khan as his deputy, to whose care Jehaundar Shaw was for the present to be entrusted. All these gracious assurances satisfied Affud ad Dowlah, and had such an effect on the ameer al amra, his son, that he thought it best to remain at Dhely, and wait the emperor's mercy, which he hoped would spare his forfeited life and fortune.

When Ferokhsere arrived near Dhely, he commanded Affud ad Dowlah and his son to be brought into his presence. They were both received with the honours due to their high rank; after which, the former was allowed to return in safety to his own house, but the latter was led to a private tent, and, after a few questions had been asked him, he was strangled, as a punishment for his crimes, and an example to others. His body was afterwards tied with the head downwards on an elephant, together with that of Jehaundar Shaw, who had been put to death in prison, and exposed in the

new emperor's train, when he made his triumphant entry to the palace; after which, both bodies were thrown into the street, before the great mosque, and remained some days a spectacle to the mob. The estates of the father and son were confiscated, and their family, which had filled for above two hundred years the highest offices of the state, was thus in an instant levelled with the dust, and, like that of Bermekee, totally ruined. Some other traitors were also punished with death, which impressed the subject with respect for government, and proved that however, for a time, treasons might be attended with success, at length the prosperity of the house of Timur would be prevalent over all opposition.

Such is the first beaming of the heaven-given fortune of his majesty, which, by divine blessing, is ascending to the zenith of glory and renown. Praise be to God, by whose favour the conclusion of my book is auspicious! and mercy upon the chosen of mankind, Mahummud, his descendants, his friends and followers, for evermore! Amen.

* Known in Europe by the name of Barmecides, as mentioned in the life of Haroon al Rasheed, in the History of the Caliphs.

F I N I S.

PART V.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY

OF

AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS.

P R E F A C E.

IN the compilation of the following part of my work, I have used chiefly the authority of Persian manuscripts, a list of which is at the end of the volume; and from much conversation with many principal and well informed natives on the subject of their history, I can assert the received authenticity of the facts related.

For the account of the situation of the present emperor, Shaw Aulum, from 1771 to 1779, I owe the chief materials to my friend Lieutenant Colonel POLIER, whose long residence and connections at the court of Dhely enabled him to obtain the best information of public and private transactions.

The Persian Journal of the cruel proceedings of the unprincipled and inhuman Rhohilla chief, Gholam Kadir, was written by an eye witness on the scene of their perpetration, and transmitted me by my brother Captain RICHARD SCOTT. In this, and such other materials that would bear it, literality as much as possible

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possible has been observed; but I will not pretend that the following pages are wholly translations, some anecdotes having been inserted from oral information, also a few observations on characters and circumstances, of my own. These it is needless to point out, as the variation of idiom will distinguish them from the parts translated.

FEROKHSERE.

WHEN the new emperor Ferokhsere had reposed a few days from his fatigues, and order was restored in the city of Agra, he began his march towards Dhely, and shortly after arrived at Khizerabad, about four miles distant from that capital. The next morning 'Asoph ad Dowlah and his son the ameer al amra came to pay their respects, and were honoured with dresses and other marks of the royal favour; after which the former was dismissed to his own tents, but the latter commanded to wait. He accordingly remained in the divan with Khaujeh Affim. In a little time a dinner was brought in from the royal table for the ameer al amra, who at first refused to eat, suspecting poison; but on the khaujeh's offering to partake, his fears subsided, and he agreed to dine. The khaujeh now observing, that it was contrary to the rules of court to eat in the ^b divan, proposed moving to a ^c square of skreens in the area

S 2

before

* In the Memoirs of Eradut Khan filed Affud ad Dowlah, also one of his titles.

^b Hall of audience.

^c Called in India kanauts. They are made of cotton cloth, sometimes flowered, but generally in stripes of red and white or blue and white, about seven feet high, and strengthened with the bamboo cane, sewed in at five or six feet distance, which prevent their bellying with the wind. The tents of the great men are always surrounded with them, and make a beautiful appearance. The royal tents are encircled with skreens nine or ten feet high, which are always plain red, and called ferra perda.

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before it, which they did ; but the ameer al amra had no sooner entered than the opening was shut upon him, and Khaujeh Affim remained without. At the same instant two hundred armed men rushed into the court and surrounded the square.

Half an hour had not elapsed, when Abdoollah Khan, superintendant of the khowaafs, or domestic servants, came out from the emperor's apartment, and entering the skreens, spoke as follows to the ameer al amra.

" His majesty commands you to inform him why you * confined Kaum Bukhsh in Dekkan, and illused his friends, contrary to loyalty and respect to the emperor ?" The ameer al amra unhesitatingly answered,

" I confined the prince by the orders of Aulumgeer, his sovereign and mine. Had he commanded me to imprison my own father, I should have readily complied." Abdoollah Khan then withdrew, but instantly returning from the emperor, said,

" You were the general and chief minister of ^b Azim Shaw, was it acting loyally to desert him in the field, and seek your own safety by flight ?" He answered,

" While he was alive I kept the field, but when he was slain, I dared not to oppose a prince of the blood without a rival of equal dignity at the head of our army." Upon this, Abdoollah Khan

* The prince Kaum Bukhsh was confined at the siege of Jinjee, a strong fortress on the coast of Coromandel, being strongly suspected of a design of joining the enemy and rebelling against his father Aulumgeer, as related in his reign.

^b *Vide* Memoirs of Eradut Khan for this transaction. The ameer al amra was the principal general of Azim Shaw when defeated by his brother Shaw Aulum.

Khan returned, but coming back soon, said, "What were the circumstances of your conduct to the martyred prince, his majesty's father, Azeem Ooshawn?"

The ameer al amra answered, "He behaved inattentively to me, and I then attached myself to his brother; but in this did no more than other nobles, who each embraced the cause of the prince he best loved, and from whom he received the greatest favours."

Abdoollah Khan then said, "Why was his majesty's beloved brother inhumanly murdered in cool blood, many days after the battle, when other princes were allowed to live?" The ameer al amra convinced, by this question, that no submissions or entreaties could spare his life, angrily exclaimed, "If I am to die, kill me instantly, nor vex me longer with vain interrogations."

Upon this, Lacheen Beg and other ^achelas rushing upon him, threw him on the ground; and having strangled him with a bow-string, stamped upon his breast, and stabbed him with daggers in several parts of the body. When quite cold, the corpse was drawn out with ropes, and cast without the court of the divan, as a spectacle to the populace. His effects and estates, with those of his father, were confiscated to the royal use.

The day succeeding this tragedy Ferokhsere marched from Khizzerabad, and made his public entry into Dhely with imperial splendour.

^a Every prince of Hindoostan has a band of attendants distinguished by this appellation. They are supposed to be always ready to devote their lives, and are too often employed in assassinations. Tippoo Saheb has a battalion of them, among whom he has enrolled many of our unfortunate countrymen, whom he forcibly circumcised. They are generally captives taken in infancy, or purchased slaves educated under the eye of the prince. The jeoghians in the court of Constantinople are of a similar description.

splendour. The heads of the late emperor his uncle, Jehaundar Shaw, and the ameer al amra, were carried on poles in the cavalcade; their bodies hanging feet upwards across an elephant, as marks of his triumph. The aged minister Asoph ad Dowlah was also compelled to attend the procession, shabbily dressed, in a palanquin, and accompanied by the ladies of his family, as spectators of their own disgrace. They were afterwards confined in the palace of Khan Jehaun. Raja Soobeh Chund, dewan to the late ameer al amra, had his tongue cut out, and his property seized. "Be not self-secure from the retribution of your actions, for every seed sown produceth its kind." Many nobles and dependants of the late emperor were put to death by the bow-string and other punishments. Aiz ad Dien, son of Jehaundar Shaw, Ali Tibbar, the son of Azim Shaw, and Hoomaioon Bukht, younger brother to Ferokhsere, were deprived of sight by a red hot iron drawn over their eyes. Owing to the unjust slaughter and punishments inflicted on numbers innocent of crimes, persons of all ranks were seized with horror. The dread of death was so great, that many nobles previous to going to court used to take leave of their families, and on their return home offer prayers and alms, as in thanksgiving for escape from imminent danger.

Ferokhsere had not long enjoyed the throne, when a jealousy arose between him and the vizier *Kootub al Moolk, which at last extended to open contention, and finally occasioned the downfall of the empire and ruin of Hindoostan. The vizier, after the victory of Agra, had been dispatched to settle affairs at Dhely, where, without consulting Ferokhsere, he had disposed of two principal offices to his friends; but the emperor on his arrival wished to confer them on other persons. Kootub al Moolk upon this, observed, that if, in the very commencement of his office, his advice should

not

* Syed Abdoollah Khan, appointed vizier with the above title, on Ferokhsere's accession. It signifies, The axis of the state.

not be followed, it would destroy his credit as vizier; while Meer Jumlah, Ferokhsere's private favourite, remarked to him, that how far soever princes might trust servants with power, yet they ought to keep due deference, and not appoint to important stations without orders from the presence. In short, though this dispute ended in the vizier's giving up one of the offices to the emperor's choice, yet it left mutual hatred in their minds. But the chief cause of confusion in affairs, and the consequent disrepute of the vizier, his brother the *ameer al amra, and all the syeds of Bareh, was this: Ferokhsere had none of the qualities of empire, penetration or conduct. He was of low mind and manners, and possessed only an ill-placed liberality, bestowing extravagant favours on men without desert and of low rank. Yet generosity is such a quality, that, however profuse, it has its admirers. Persons eager of gain will praise it, and it leaves a good name to the possessor in this frail world. Ferokhsere was therefore beloved by the common people; but, in fact, he had not the least ability for sovereign command, or even the lowest office in a state.

Meer Jumlah, envious and aspiring, but void of capacity, sought superiority over all the nobility; and having scattered to the winds the honour and fortunes of Asoph ad Dowlah and his son, accumulated during a century and half, was meditating the destruction of the syeds. He could not see them the patrons of the people and guiders of administration. Koottub al Moolk also, being much addicted to women and luxury, sought for leisure, and had entrusted the reins of his authority to his dewan Ruttun Chund, who had been purveyor to his family; a man, rigid in his idolatrous faith, but incapable of directing the affairs of the vizarut, the highest office in the empire. From these causes, contentions daily encreasing, eventually ruined the imperial authority of the family

* Syed Houssein Alee Khan, honoured by this title on Ferokhsere's success near Agra.

family of Timur, which had been established four hundred years, and the syeds of Bareh were abused as traitors to future time. A world was destroyed by these enmities, and the empire of Hindoostan irrecoverably disordered.

The emperor and Meer Jumlah, with their partizans, had formed a plan for the separation of the brothers, which was, to dispatch one for the punishment of ^a Maharaja Ajeet Sing Rhatoree, who, since the death of Aulumgeer, had been guilty of rebellion, by destroying the mosques and erecting idol temples in his zemindary, and, as yet, with impunity, owing to the wars of Shaw Aulum with his brothers, the insurrections of the siks, and the succeeding broils of the imperial family, from the death of Shaw Aulum till the present time. The ameer al amra, Houffein Alee Khan, accordingly marched with a considerable army; and Ajeet Sing, seized with dread at his approach, having evacuated the low lands, took refuge in the fastnesses of the mountains, with his family and effects. Notwithstanding the hints he received from court to oppose the ameer al amra, he sent ambassadors to beg quarter and forgiveness of his offences. As at this period the faction at court having raised the flames of disagreement between the emperor and the vizier, were conspiring to imprison him, he wrote repeated letters to his brother, conjuring him to ^b hasten to Dhely. The ameer al amra therefore, being fearful of delay, received the submissions of Ajeet Sing, obliged him to pay a large ^b peshcush, to give a daughter in marriage to Ferokhsere, and send his son to court. After concluding this treaty, he returned to the capital.

Koottub

^a The rajas of Rhatore, called also Marwar, were of the first consequence in Hindoostan; but of late their power has much decreased, and a great part of their territory been wrested from them by the Mharattas.

^b An offering of money, made on taking possession of an office or lands from government, also as an acknowledgment of submission on receiving pardon for state offences.

Koottub al Moolk being vizier, and his brother ameer al amra, it was difficult to exercise any act of government, such as the conference of honours, lands, or appointment to offices, without their approbation, and they wished nothing to be done contrary to their pleasure. At the same time, Meer Jumlah, the confidential minister of the emperor, who had publicly signified that his promise and signature were the same as his own, received applications and granted petitions, in order to obtain popularity; but Ruttun Chund, dewan to the vizier, displeased at his interference, refused obedience to the royal orders through the favourite; nor indeed would he forward any person's business without a present for himself and his patron. For these reasons he was not only hated by Ferokhsere and Meer Jumlah, but by the people; yet, emboldened by the support of his master, he behaved with great insolence. The brothers were enraged at Meer Jumlah, who on his part represented their conduct as disloyal, to the emperor, who was so much alarmed, that he wished to secure their persons by stratagem, and often tried to effect it, but in vain. His plans were betrayed to the ministers, and only added enmity to enmity and injury to injury. It is said, that the mother of Ferokhsere acquainted them with the designs of her son, as she was guarantee to the treaty between them, when the brothers had first embraced his cause against Jehaundar Shaw.

The ameer al amra, on his return to Dhely, requested the government of Dekkan, intending to leave Daood Khan Punnee as his deputy in that country, to receive from him a certain yearly sum, and to remain himself at court; but the emperor and Meer Jumlah wished him to depart. This he declined, fearful of leaving his brother alone among enemies. The dispute on this point grew so high, that the brothers left off attending the court, levied troops, and fortified themselves in their palaces; while Ferokhsere held councils against them with Meer Jumlah, Mahummud Ameen Khan,

and Khan Dowraun; but from his irresolution and cowardice, his plans were changed day after day, and nothing was determined. Owing to the rumours of these dissensions, business was at a stand in the capital, so that the necessaries of life became very dear.

When much time had passed in this manner, and mediators interfered, the emperor's mother went to the house of Koottub al Moolk, and satisfied his mind, by agreeing that his troops should garrison the citadel, while he and the ameer al amra visited her son. Accordingly, the brothers came to court, asked pardon for their offences, and complained of the emperor's suspicions of their attachment from the insinuations of intriguing persons. Taking off their swords, they laid them at his feet, saying, "If we are guilty, here are our heads, and there the instruments of punishment; but if, from regard to our services, our deaths should be uneasy to the royal mind, displace and dismiss us from the presence, that we may gather purity in a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy tombs of our illustrious ancestors. If it is the royal will to use our services, and keep us in the presence, to listen to the calumny of the factious, and injure and disgrace us, is contrary to the practice of just sovereigns and the rules of prudence." At length affairs were thus adjusted, that Meer Jumlah, being promoted to the soubadary of Bahar, should be banished the presence, and the ameer al amra march to Dekkan.

Meer Jumlah was dismissed to his government in a few days after the reconciliation. Nizam al Moolk was recalled from Dekkan, and Daood Khan ordered from Guzarat to Boorahanpore, there to wait the commands of the ameer al amra.

After

* The grandsons of Mahummud by his daughter Fatima, the wife of Alee.

After these arrangements, the emperor, who was recovered from a severe illness, which had hitherto prevented the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of Maharaja Ajeet Sing, issued orders for preparations for that ceremony. The ameer al amra conducted the festivities on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a splendour and magnificence, till then unseen

A. H. 1127.

A. D. 1714-15.

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among

* It was about this time that the East India Company obtained their firman of free trade from Ferokhsere. The embassy sent to him had been some time unsuccessfully employed, owing to the intrigues of the navob of Bengal, when an accident occasioned a sudden and fortunate conclusion to the negotiation. Ferokhsere was seized with a disorder which the skill of his own physicians could not cure, and he was given over by them. Reduced to this extremity, he was advised to trust his case to Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon to the embassy, who, by an operation, restored him to health. During the operation it was reported, that the emperor had died under the surgeon's hands; and so great was the fury of the populace, that they surrounded the house of the ambassadors, threatening to destroy them. They were only to be appeased by Ferokhsere's shewing himself to them from a balcony of the palace, and assuring them that he had received new life from the skill of Mr. Hamilton. Upon this the English became as much venerated, as they had been before despised. Ferokhsere conferred great marks of distinction on Mr. Hamilton, and promised to grant any favour he chose to ask. Mr. Hamilton, instead of requesting rewards for himself, besought the grant of the Company's requisitions; which were instantly complied with, and the fees of office remitted. Upon the return of the embassy, the emperor was very urgent with Mr. Hamilton to remain in his service, which he declined for the present; but promised to return, when he should have settled his affairs at Calcutta. Among the presents made him by Ferokhsere, were models of all his surgical instruments of pure gold. Mr. Hamilton, soon after his return to Bengal, died of a putrid fever; and the emperor, not satisfied with the account of this event from the governor and council, sent an officer of rank to Calcutta to examine the truth from the natives, whose solemn testimony and that of the Europeans were taken to the emperor. I had this anecdote from Mr. Hastings, who tells me, that at his first arrival in India there were living witnesses of the circumstances of it, and Mr. Hamilton's monument was to be seen in the burial ground of Calcutta, upon which the account of them was engraved. In a Life of Ferokhsere, the circumstance of his recovery by a European surgeon is mentioned; also the delay of his marriage from illness. The Company owe something to the memory of a man who so nobly preferred their interest to his own advantage.

among the princes of Hindoostan. Many pompous insignia were added to the royal train upon this occasion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars. High and low shared the festivity, and joy thrilled through the veins of all. The emperor came to the palace of the ameer al amra, where the ceremony was performed; after which, he carried the princess in the highest splendour of imperial pomp to the citadel, amid the resoundings of musical instruments and acclamations of the populace.

The ameer al amra, having assured Ferokhsere, that in case of any breach of the royal promise, or designs against his brother Koottub al Moolk, he would return to Dhely in twenty days, began his march towards Dekkan. The emperor however had recalled Daood Khan, the chief of an Afghaun tribe of tried valour, and possessing great influence and friendship with the Mharattas, from the government of Guzarat to that of Boorahanpore, apparently as deputy to the ameer al amra, but with secret orders to oppose and cut him off. Daood Khan, on his arrival at Boorahanpore, began to act as if independant; upon which the ameer al amra sent a message to him, that as the government of all Dekkan had been conferred upon him, it was necessary he should not draw his foot from the circle of obedience, but come to meet him submissively, or retire to Dhely. Daood Khan, disregarding this, pitched his camp under the walls of the city, and called to his assistance Neemajee Sindia, a principal Mharatta chief, who had been taken into the imperial service by Shaw Aulum, and enjoyed the rank of seven thousand, with several districts in jaghire in the vicinity of Aurungabad.

The ameer al amra, when arrived near Boorahanpore, repeated his admonitions, but in vain, upon which he marched to punish him; and Daood Khan, who regarded himself as the hero of his age,

age, was prepared to receive him. The engagement was very bloody on both sides. Daood Khan had given orders to his elephant driver to carry him to the ameer al amra, whom he was ambitious of attacking in person; and notwithstanding his advanced line, which had charged the artillery of the enemy, was driven back with great slaughter, he, with many of his chief officers mounted on elephants, made repeated attempts to break through the foe. His bravery began to alarm the troops of the ameer al amra, several of whose principal dependants were killed and wounded, and among them Meer Mushriff, the chief officer and favourite of his master, who was wounded by an arrow from Daood Khan, and thrown from his elephant. At length Daood Khan approached near the ameer al amra, whose army, now seized with a panic, fled on all sides, leaving him with only a few confidential attendants. At this crisis, a matchlock ball struck Daood Khan, who fell dead on the seat of his elephant; and the day of his prosperity sunk into the darkness of destruction. His followers instantly dispersed, and the ameer al amra sounded the trumpets of victory, commanding the body of Daood Khan to be dragged at the tail of an elephant round the city of Boorahanpore. Neemajee Sindia, who in the beginning of the action had retired to a distance with his followers, came up to congratulate the victor, and his troops plundered the fugitives of his late patron. The effects, horses, and elephants of Daood Khan were seized by the ameer al amra, who, some time afterwards, sent a few of the latter to court.

The following circumstance is related. Daood Khan, while soubadar of Guzarat, had married the daughter of a zemindar of that province, and she was at the time of his death seven months gone with child. Determined not to survive her lord, she ripped open her womb, so as to save the life of the infant, and died. When the emperor received intelligence of the victory gained by the ameer al amra, he was much afflicted, and said to Koottub al Moolk,

Moolk, that so valiant and celebrated a chief, as Daood Khan, had been unjustly slain; when the vizier observed, that had his brother fallen by the hand of the Afghaun, his majesty would have been of a different opinion.

During this year, by the well conducted valour of Abd al Sum-mud Khan, Bunda, chief of the fiks, who had pretended to royalty, and committed great depredations in the province of Lahore, was taken prisoner, and received the just reward of his crimes. He was * lineally descended from an adopted son of Nannuk Shaw, the founder of the religion of the fiks, in the reign of the emperor Baber. Nannuk was the son of a Hindoo grain merchant of the Kuttree tribe, and being a youth of good capacity and pleasing manners, engaged the notice of fyed Houffun, a celebrated dirvesh, by whose instructions he made great progress in learning; and became an admirer of the systems of speculative and contemplative divinity of the mussulmaun devotees. Having selected some of their tenets, he translated them into the Punjaubee dialect, with additions of his own, and called the composition Kirrunt, which became the guide of his disciples, who at first formed only a religious sect, without laying claim to political consequence. Nannuk left two sons, but neither of them assumed the supremacy of their order, which was given by election to Angud, one of their father's followers, who held it thirteen years. He, having no son, was succeeded by a disciple, who presided over the order twenty two years, and though he had sons, he placed Ramdafs, his son in law, in the direction. Ramdafs lived only seven years, and was succeeded by his son Goorroh Arjun, whose son Hir Govind inherited his dignity. Hir Govind's eldest son dying, he was succeeded by his grandson, Hir Roy, who after seventeen years left this world, and was succeeded by his infant son Hir Kishen. He having no issue,
his

* This is contradicted by other writers, who say he was of obscure parentage; but the fiks believe this account of his descent, or affect to do so.

his uncle Teeghe Bahadur, younger son of Hir Govind, was elected, but was put to death as a dangerous heretic in the seventeenth year of Aulumgeer's reign, he having collected his followers, and levied contributions from the inhabitants of his neighbourhood, in conjunction with Hafiz Adam, a mussulmaun devotee, and his votaries. Some time after the death of Teeghe Bahadur, his son Goorroh Govind, having collected his followers, gave them arms and horses, which till his time they had never used, and began to commit depredations; but he was soon obliged to fly, and two of his sons, being taken prisoners, were put to death. Being desirous of returning to his home, he prevailed on some Afghauns to conduct him, disguised as one of their devotees, through the army stationed at Sirhind; and for the remainder of his life kept himself retired, having lost his faculties in grief for his sons. He ordered his disciples to wear blue, and leave their beards and the hair of their heads unshaved, which they do to this day*. He was succeeded by Bunda, one of his followers, who was also called Goorroh Govind. This man obtained great power; and while Shaw Aulum was in Dekkan against Kaum Bukhs, collected his followers, to revenge the death of his predecessor's sons. He committed the greatest cruelties on the mussulmauns, in every advantage shewing no quarter to age or sex, and even ripping up women with child. The emperor Shaw Aulum found it necessary to march in person against him, and he was besieged in the fortress of Loeh Ghur, which was taken, but Bunda found means to escape, and raise new insurrections.

The

* The sikhs admit proselytes from any sect. They profess deism. Their ceremonies I am not informed of. They mourn at a birth, and rejoice at death. It is said, every proselyte is obliged to drink the water, in which some sikhs have washed their feet, mixed with hog's blood; a horrid abomination to a pious mussulmaun. Hindoo proselytes drink water, in which a few drops of a cow's blood have been mingled.

The death of Shaw Aulum, the disputes of his sons, and the unsettled state of Jehaundar Shaw's government, prevented means being taken for the extirpation of the heresy; and Bunda, taking advantage of the distraction of the times, acquired an alarming degree of power. Upon the accession of Ferokhsere, Islaum Khan, soubadar of Lahore, was sent against him, but defeated with great slaughter; upon which Bazeed Khaun, fojedaur of Sirhind, was commanded to punish him, and took the field. He was assassinated in his tent, when alone at evening prayers, by a fik, commissioned for that purpose by Bunda, and the murderer escaped unhurt. Abd al Summud Khan, governor of Kashmeer, was now promoted to the soubadary of Lahore, and sent against the rebels with a great army. After many severe engagements, he forced Bunda to take refuge in a fortress, which was blockaded so effectually, as to cut off every supply. The garrison was reduced to the necessity of eating cows, horses, asses, and other animals forbidden by their laws; when at length, having no provision of any sort left, and being reduced to the extremity of famine and disease, they begged for quarter. Abd al Summud Khan, having planted a standard on the plain, commanded them to come out and lay their arms under it, which they did. He then divided the meaner sort among his chiefs, who cut off their heads, and threw their bodies into a river near the fortress. The chiefs and persons of rank he put in chains, and placed them upon camels and asses, with caps of paper on their heads, and proceeded with them to Lahore in this manner, to excite the derision and insults of the populace. The mother of Bazeed Khan, whose murderer had been rewarded by the fiks, and distinguished by the title of Tara Sing, upon his being pointed out to her in the procession, threw down a heavy stone from the roof of her house as he passed, and killed him on the spot, in revenge for the death of her son. After some days, Bunda and the other captives were sent to Dhely; through which he was carried in an iron cage upon an elephant, dressed in a robe of gold brocade, and upon his head

head a red turban, embroidered with gold. Behind him sat a soldier with a drawn sabre. Preceding him were borne by persons mounted on elephants numberless heads of his disciples on long poles, also a cat upon a staff, to denote that not an animal belonging to him was spared from slaughter. After his elephant came, tied two and two upon camels, seven hundred and forty prisoners, having each a hand bound to his neck. Upon their heads were fantastic caps, and they wore habits of sheep skins, with the wool outwards. The siks bore the insults of the populace with the greatest firmness, and steadily refused the emperor's offers of life if they would embrace the Mahummedan faith. They were put to death, an hundred each day, on the ensuing seven days. On the eighth, Bunda and his son, with their remaining friends, were executed without the city. They were carried to the place of execution in ridiculous procession. A dagger was put into the hands of the chief, who was commanded to kill his infant son; but refusing, the child was slain by the executioner, his heart torn out, and forced into the father's mouth. Bunda was then put to death, by the tearing of his flesh with red hot pincers and other tortures, which he bore with the greatest constancy; and had he not inflicted similar cruelties on others, he might be regarded as a martyr to his faith. It is said, he made the following reply to Mahummud Ameen Khan, who had remonstrated with him on his conduct: "When the sins of
 " a people become excessive, the divine Avenger sends forth among
 " them a tyrant, like myself, to punish their crimes; but when
 " the measure of justice is filled, commits him to the hands of one
 " more powerful, that he may receive the reward of his actions.
 " What are the cruelties and oppressions of the wicked, if they
 " shew not the rod of the Almighty!"*

VOL. II.

U

Ferokhsere

* The siks now possess the provinces of Lahore, Pungjaub, and Moultaun, with great part of Dhely, and bands of them have more than once made inroads on the navob vizier's dominions, but have been as often easily repelled by

A. H. 1128.

A. D. 1715.

Ferokhsere had levied a body of twenty thousand horse, and settled the pay of each man at ^a fifty rupees per month, which had now fallen in arrear a whole year. Many of the officers having from two to nine hundred men, had served, in hopes of procuring jaghires, without personal pay, during this period, at the end of which orders were issued to dismiss them. At this crisis, also, Meer Jumlah arrived at Dhely from his government of Bahar, where affairs were in the utmost confusion, owing to his bad conduct. He had kept up a greater force than he could pay, so that the soldiers became mutinous, and committed the greatest outrages and oppressions on the inhabitants of the city of Patna, and the districts. Meer Jumlah, dreading a revolt as dangerous to his personal safety, fled unknown to his followers, and travelling in a covered litter reached Dhely in fifteen days from Patna. His sudden arrival gave universal credit to reports, which had been prevailing, that Ferokhsere was meditating the imprisonment of the vizier; and though he was not admitted to the presence, but received tokens of the royal displeasure for quitting his government without orders, and went himself to visit Koottub al Moolk, whose mediation he begged with the humblest entreaties, his conduct was interpreted as deceitful. The discharged cavalry, clamorous for arrears, had surrounded the palaces of Mahummud Ameen, paymaster, Khan Dowraun, deputy to the ameer al amra, and Meer Jumlah, which was attributed to the intrigues of the latter, and an intent of seizing the vizier in the tumult. Koottub al Moolk being alarmed, collected his dependants from

by the approach of our army. They have a tradition among them, from their founder Nannuk, that their order and power will be destroyed by white men from the west; and they regard Europeans as the people destined to fulfil the prophecy. Nannuk is said also to have told the emperor Baber, that his descendants would fill the throne of Dhely for ten generations, and no longer. If so, this prophecy may be regarded as nearly verified, Shaw Aulum being the tenth in descent; and it is more than probable, that after him an emperor will cease to be acknowledged in Hindoostan. At present he is merely nominal.

^a Between five and six pounds sterling.

from the neighbouring districts; and during five or six days the capital was a scene of confusion, both the mutineers and the forces of the vizier being under arms, watching the motions of each other day and night. At length Meer Jumlah took refuge with Mahumud Ameen Khan, and Ferokhsere, to calm the suspicions of the vizier, having removed him from his employments, banished him to Lahore, and satisfied the soldiery; but this, as there was no sincerity between the parties, did not put an end to their jealousies; so that the emperor never went to hunt or made a movement, but reports arose that it was to seize Koottub al Moolk, who was always in alarm, and surrounded by troops for his protection.

In this year died the Navob Afoph ad Dowlah Affud Khan Bahadur, father to the late ameer al amra, in the ninety fourth lunar year of his age. He was descended from an illustrious family of Turkomauns. His father fled from the oppressions of Shaw Abbas of Persia into Hindoostan, was raised to high rank by Jehaungeer, and married the daughter of a near relation to his empress Noor Jehaun. The name of Afoph ad Dowlah was Ibrahim. He was very early noticed by Shaw Jehaun, who married him to a daughter of his vizier Afoph Jah, brother to the empress above mentioned, and promoted him to the office of second bukhshi, which he held till the fifteenth year of Aulumgeer, when he was raised to the rank of four thousand, and a few years afterwards to the office of vizier, and highest order of nobility, seven thousand. He was continued in employment by Azim Shaw, upon whose death he was distinguished by Shaw Aulum, appointed ^a vaqueel muttulluk, and his son made ameer al amra; but on the accession of Ferokhsere he was disgraced, had his estates seized, and his son was put to death. Since that period, he had lived upon a scanty pension in a sort of confinement, but much respected by all ranks. It is

A. H. 1129.

A. D. 1716.

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reported,

^a An officer properly controuling every department, never created but on great emergencies. To Afoph ad Dowlah it was a mere nominal honour.

reported, that Ferokhsere, in his last illness, sent to ask his pardon for his treatment of him, and to request his advice how to act towards the fyeds. Asoph ad Dowlah said, that the emperor had been led to do wrong by his unlucky destiny, and when he had ruined his family, he had destroyed the pillars of the empire of Timur; that as he had entrusted the reins of government to the fyeds, he should seek only their satisfaction, for dissention could only render his affairs worse, and draw down ruin upon his own head. Asoph ad Dowlah was buried with great funeral pomp, at the expense of the emperor, in a mausoleum, erected by his father for the family.

Ferokhsere, by the advice of his favourites, had appointed several persons to offices in Dekkan; but the ameer al amra, regarding them as inimical to his authority, kept them unemployed by various excuses, and filled their places with his own dependants; which enraged the emperor, who was treated also with the same disrespect by his vizier at Dhely. The dewan, Raja Ruttun Chund, controuled all the imperial offices, so as to leave their possessors only a name. He farmed out in lease the * royal demesnes to his own creatures; and the imperial dewan and Roy Royan, whose peculiar employ it was to regulate them, finding it in vain to please the emperor and his ministers, being divested of all power, requested to resign their nominal offices.

Ferokhsere, willing if possible to regain his authority, recalled to court Einaiut Oollah Khan, who had been dewan to Aulumgeer, intending

* Left this expression should be misunderstood, it is signified, that the property of the soil is all in the emperor, and the landholders are removeable at pleasure; but they were suffered to be hereditary, unless in cases of treason, rebellion, or defalcation of revenue, except in those districts above named demesnes, which were reserved for the private support of the royal household, and were farmed to renters annually, or in lease.

intending to restore him to his former office ; but this nobleman, fearful of offending the powerful vizier, at first declined the offer, nor did Koottub al Moolk, who had experienced his abilities, wish for such a rival. He was, however, at length persuaded by Akh-laafs Khan, his friend, who tried to reconcile the jarring interests, to consent to the appointment, on a promise that Einaiut Oollah should not propose any thing to the emperor, or fill inferior offices, without his knowledge and approbation, and agreed that Ruttun Chund should not interfere in the management of the royal revenue. As Koottub al Moolk, on account of the displeasure of Ferokhsere and his own fondness for pleasure, sat but little in the courts of the vizarut, which occasioned great delay in business and vexation to clients, Einaiut Oollah requested that he would at least come once a day to his office ; which he promised, but soon failed to perform.

Einaiut Oollah Khan, notwithstanding his reputed abilities, did not consult the temper of the times, so very different from those of the reign of Aulumgeer. He obtained the emperor's orders to revive the *capitation tax upon infidels ; which disobliged Raja Ruttun Chund and all the Hindoos. As many eunuchs, Kashmirians, Hindoos, and persons of bad characters, had procured valuable jaghires, so as to leave no subsistence or rewards for the deserving, he wished to confiscate some and lessen others, to make room for them. This regulation interfering with the dependants of Koottub al Moolk, he was much displeased, and all the deputies in office hated the strictness of the new dewan. The agreement between him and the vizier was soon broken, and changed into mutual opposition. A dependant of Ruttun Chund, who owed a considerable balance of revenue to government, was confined for the debt by Einaiut Oollah, who refused to release him at the request of his patron ; but the defaulter finding means to make his escape, took shelter

* Thirteen rupees per annum for every two thousand of property possessed by the Hindoos. The lame, blind, and very poor, were excused.

shelter in his house, and Ruttun Chund would not give him up to the royal officers. The emperor, enraged at his insolence, commanded Koottub al Moolk to discharge him from his service; but the vizier would not obey.

Another great cause of disagreement between the emperor and Koottub al Moolk was this: Raja Jey Sing had been dispatched with a powerful army to reduce Chooramun, chief of the Jauts, who had raised a rebellion in the province of Agra; the rebel, after a resistance of nearly a year, being reduced to extremity, sent an agent to Koottub al Moolk, offering to pay him a considerable sum of money, a large peshcush to the royal treasury, and to come and make his submissions at court, if he would procure his pardon and recall the troops of Jey Sing. The vizier, thinking to procure a new and useful partizan in Chooramun, obliged Ferokhsere, much against his inclination, to accept the offers. The rebel accordingly came to Dhely, and was admitted once to the royal presence. Raja Jey Sing was greatly displeased at the escape of Chooramun from his hands, and complained to Ferokhsere of the indignity shewn him in return for his services. Disagreeable intelligence also arrived from Dekkan, which caused fresh dissensions at court, and at length involved the empire in confusion.

When the ameer al amra, after the defeat of Daood Khan, had proceeded to the capital of Aurungabad, and began to adjust the affairs of his government, he found that Kaundoo Dhearee, who was established on the part of * Raja Sahoo in the province of Khandeshe, had erected a chain of small forts on the high road between the port of Surat and the city of Boorahanpore. His Mharattas, issuing from these stations, obliged merchants and travellers to pay a fourth part of their property; or, in case of resistance, plundered them of the whole, and confined their persons till they received

* Chief of the Mharattas.

received a ransom. The ameer al amra dispatched one of his chiefs, with four thousand horse and as many foot, to expell the Mharattas, and raze the forts; but this officer being drawn into an ambush by Kaundoo Dhearee, who pretended to fly before him, was defeated and slain, with many of his troops, and the remainder were made prisoners. The ameer al amra now sent against the rebels Mohukkum Sing, his dewan, and his own brother Syef ad Dien Ali Khan, governor of Boorahanpore, in great force; upon which Kaundoo, not chusing to hazard an engagement, retired to his master Raja Sahoo in the fortress of Sittarra, but his followers continued to commit depredations as usual, cautiously avoiding their enemy. Mohukkum Sing, unable to bring the Mharattas to a decisive action, marched to besiege Sittarra, when he was recalled by the ameer al amra, who had obtained intelligence of dissensions at Dhely, and that the emperor had sent private orders to Raja Sahoo and all the persons of authority in Dekkan to oppose and distress him. From this cause, though he was visited by Mubariz Khan, soubadar of Ahmedabad, and other imperial officers, yet he never could properly establish his authority in Beejapore, Hyderabad, or the Carnatics.

The emperor Aulumgeer, in a war of twenty five years, had reduced the two remaining mussulmaun * monarchies of Dekkan, and taken forty fortresses from the Mharattas, when Tara Bhay, widow of Ramrauje, their chief, offered to submit, if he would allow her ten rupees in each hundred from the collections of the country, as original proprietor of the soil. The emperor, however, either disdaining to make terms with infidels, or from avarice, refused this offer. Shaw Aulum, his successor, entered into negotiations for a treaty with Tara Bhay and Raja Sahoo; but, owing to disagreements between the two latter concerning the division of the allowance, it was never finally adjusted; and upon his return from Dekkan

* Beejapore and Golconda.

Dekkan the Mharattas demanded the choute, or fourth part of the revenues, which the soubahdar Daood Khan agreed to pay them, on condition that the jaghires of the princes of the blood and his own should be excepted from this tribute; also, that his own agent, Heeramun, should superintend their collections, and that they should not plunder or molest caravans. Thus affairs were tolerably conducted during his government, and, at first, in that of his successor Nizam al Moolk, which lasted only a year and five months; but in the latter part of it the Mharattas renewed their plunders.

The ameer al amra, finding the emperor leagued with the enemy, and his brother the vizier opposed at Dhely, thought it most prudent to make peace, and bind the Mharattas to his interest. He accordingly ratified the conditions granted them by Daood Khan, with the addition of the allowance of deesmukkee, or ten rupees in every hundred. It was settled, that Bishonaut and Chimnajee should reside as agents of Raja Sahoo, with a respectable force, at Aurungabad, to receive the choute, and that they should establish collectors in the districts over the deesmukkee. Thus, for a time, the calamities of war and its attendant famine, which had vexed Dekkan for a long series of years, subsided, and the people began to taste repose; but the governors of districts and farmers of revenue were more distressed than ever, as they had now three collectors, one from the presence, one for the choute, and a third for the deesmukkee. Ferokhsere was highly enraged at the ameer al amra for concluding this treaty, but had not the courage to refuse his assent, or ability to counteract the usurpations of his minister, who directed the affairs of Dekkan as he pleased, employing none but his own dependants, and paying no attention to the royal appointments, unless he was assured of the fidelity of the persons to himself.

About

About this time Ferokhsere had conferred the government of Boorahanpore, as deputy to the ameer al amra, upon Jaun Nissar Khan, an old nobleman of respected character, and related by adoption to the ministers, in hopes that he would hearken to his advice, and become more obedient to the imperial pleasure. Jaun Nissar Khan arrived at the Nerbudda with only his common attendants, not chusing to raise troops, lest the appearance of them should excite jealousy in the ameer al amra, especially as Mahummud Ameen Khan had been detached with an army to Malwa, a province bordering on Dekkan, at the same time he received his commission. Reports had already spread at Aurungabad, that the motive for the march of these nobles was the destruction of the ameer al amra, and had magnified the domestic train of one into eight thousand horse, as an advanced body to an army under the latter of sixty thousand men. The ameer al amra, however, was soon better informed, by the receipt of letters from Jaun Nissar Khan, who requested an escort of troops to bring him to his presence, his small train being insufficient to protect him against a banditti of Mharattas, who infested the high road, under Sunta, a chief, independant of Raja Sahoo. The ameer al amra complied with his request; and upon his arrival at Aurungabad treated him with great respect, but delayed sending him to Boorahanpore, not chusing to trust a frontier station to one sent by the emperor.

This year was also distinguished by the rapid and extraordinary exaltation of Mahummud Moraud. This man, by birth a Kashmirian, and native of the same place as * Sahebeh Nisswaun, mother to Ferokhsere, was by her introduced to the emperor, whom he persuaded that he could easily effect the destruction of the syeds, without coming to open war, or causing confusion in the state. Ferokhsere, gratified by his flatteries, suddenly promoted him to the

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rank

* *Anglice*, Chief of women.

rank of seven thousand, with suitable jaghires, and the title of * Rukkun ad Dowlah. He daily conferred upon him the most extravagant presents of jewels and money; also the rich bedstead, sumptuously adorned with precious stones, of the emperor Shaw Jehaun. As Rukkun ad Dowlah was a man of infamous character, it was supposed the emperor was a partner in his vice. By his counsel, Nizam al Moolk was recalled to court from his government of Moraudabad, and Sirbullund Khan from that of Patna, with great promises of favour, to join their influence in the destruction of the fyeds. Ajeet Sing, raja of Rhatore and father in law to the emperor, was also invited to court for the same purpose; but immediately upon his arrival, seeing the irresolution and varying councils of the cabinet, he thought it safest to attach himself to the vizier. Nizam al Moolk and Sirbullund Khan, who expected the vizarut and ameer al amraship, being told by the emperor that he intended the former office for Rukkun ad Dowlah, resolved to run no risque merely to serve the favourite, under whom they esteemed it a disgrace to rank. Upon this, the district of Moraudabad was taken from Nizam al Moolk, and being with additional lands created into a soubahdary, was conferred on Rukkun ad Dowlah. Many others of the principal nobility were also invited to accomplish the ruin of the ministers; but all, finding that it was only to aggrandize a worthless minion, refused compliance. During these cabals, the ^b eed al fitter occurred, when the emperor as usual went in state, attended by the nobility and troops, to the place of worship without the city; and it was rumoured, that on this day the vizier would be taken prisoner or assassinated. Koottub al Moolk attended, but no attempt was made against him. Jealousies and apprehensions had now arisen to such a height, that he no longer thought himself safe without his brother, and accordingly

* Pillar of the state.

^b Festival on conclusion of the great fast of Ramazan.

ingly wrote him to hasten to Dhely for their mutual security, as the most powerful vassals of the empire were collected in the capital, and Ferokhsere was daily planning schemes for their destruction.

The ameer al amra, enraged by the intelligence from his brother, resolved to march to his assistance, and by a decisive blow to destroy the power of their enemies. He had already, in order to alarm Ferokhsere, received with great pomp and ceremony from Raja Sahoo, a youth called Moien ad Dien, said to be a son of ^a Sultan Akber, and had requested leave to come to court, as the air of Dekkan was unfavourable to his health. Ferokhsere was now filled with dread, and attempted a reconciliation with the vizier; who, in order to gain time for the arrival of his brother, took a fresh oath of fidelity, as did the emperor of regard and attachment; but there was no sincerity on either side. Akhlaafs Khan was dispatched to assure the ameer al amra of the emperor's regard, and prevail upon him to remain in Dekkan. Koottub al Moolk employed himself in attaching to his interest, or at least to stand neuter, the few consequential nobility, who had not joined his party, and he succeeded. Nizam al Moolk was promised the government of Malwa, and Sirbullund Khan that of Cabul. Mahummud Ameen Khan and Khan Dowraun were also drawn over; so that Ferokhsere had now no person of real consequence or ability attached to him, but Maharaja Jey Sing. He advised the emperor to take the field, and trust his cause to the affection of his troops, who would be animated to their duty by seeing their sovereign at their head, and desert the minister, but in vain. Ferokhsere, cowardly, and infatuated, would not quit the walls of his palace, where he continued; at one time laying schemes for the assassina-

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tion

^a Fourth son of Aurungzebe.

tion of the brothers, and at another, on their discovery, making abject submissions, and imploring forgiveness ; every effort at freedom concluding in greater restrictions upon his authority, and hazard to his person.

A. H. 1131.

A. D. 1718.

The ameer al amra having placed his own garrisons in such fortresses of Dekkan as he chose to retain, and given up the remainder to the Mharattas, as the price of their friendship, began his march, with an army of above thirty thousand horse, ten thousand of whom were Mharattas. Near the fort of * Mando, he was met by Akhlaas Khan, who had been sent from Dhely by the emperor to assure him of his regard, and to prevail on him to return to Dekkan ; but this agent was secretly a spy of the vizier's. Instead of performing the royal commission, he represented the reconciliation of Ferokhsere as pretended, magnified the dangerous influence of Rukkun ad Dowlah, and set forth the danger the vizier was in from so many of the principal nobility at Dhely with troops, particularly Nizam al Moolk, Sirbullund Khan, Mahummud Ameen Khan, and Maharaja Jey Sing, who would certainly support the emperor, should he but consent to withdraw his favour from Rukkun ad Dowlah. The ameer al amra continued his march, and upon his arrival at Oojein received advice, that the emperor, alarmed at his approach, had paid a visit to Koottub al Moolk, honoured him by placing his turban upon his head, and that the most sacred oaths of friendship had been taken between them ; that on the following day the vizier, with Maharaja Ajeet Sing, had gone to court, where the protestations of fidelity and favour were renewed ; and Ferokhsere had signified in full assembly to Rukkun ad Dowlah and his dependants, that he would henceforth exclude all jealousies of the ministers from his heart. The ameer al amra, on hearing this news, said in public durbar

* Once the capital of Malwa, now in ruins. It belongs to the Mharattas.

darbar with a loud voice, that if the emperor had sincerely no enmity against him, and should receive him with real favour, he would on his part form no plans but of loyalty and attachment, and would, after receiving audience and delivering up his royal prisoner, return to his government. He was not however sincere in his declarations, for it has been heard from the mouths of his intimates, that, immediately after, he told them in private, that he was convinced the emperor would ruin his family, should he ever have it in his power, and their only security was in his dethronement. He proceeded on his march, and at the distance of about four days from the capital was met by many of the principal nobility, and his brother's dewan, Raja Ruttun Chund, who related to him exaggerated accounts of the conduct of Ferokhsere and his favourites; which enraged him so much, that he shewed open contempt to Zuffir Khan and others, who had been sent from the emperor to compliment and assure him of the royal favour. At length they encamped close to Dhely, near the minaret of Feroze Shaw, and, contrary to the * rules of etiquette, commanded his band of music to play on his entering his tents, saying, that he no longer considered himself as a servant of the emperor, and would not regard the royal ceremonials.

Ferokhsere, upon intelligence of such a mark of disrespect, was overwhelmed with dread, and at a loss how to act. At one time he resolved to exert his authority, and take the field, to punish the rebel; but his fears soon returned, and he had recourse to mediation and entreaty. Maharaja Jey Sing now again advised him to leave the palace, and encamp; assuring him, that he would instantly be joined by the imperial servants, who would double

* Agreeably to the ceremonial, no person is allowed, without permission, to use the band or nobut within twenty four miles of the royal residence.

double the force of the brothers in number, and punish their insolence; that it was most probable their own followers would desert them, should they see his majesty resolved, and join the imperial standard, when the ministers must submit to his pleasure, or fly. Ferokhsere would not be roused to action. He now determined to give himself up to the mercy of the vizier and ameer al amra, and even commanded all the nobility to receive their orders, and act as they directed. At length he received a message from Koottub al Moolk, that if he would dismiss Jey Sing from court, and confer the offices immediately about the royal person, such as the command of the palace artillery, the direction of the halls of audience, and intendancy of the domestics, on their dependants, and admit a guard of their troops into the citadel, he and his brother would come and pay their obeisance with readiness and loyalty. Ferokhsere in reply, assured them that he would confer the above offices on Koottub al Moolk and other syeds, and receive their visit on the festival of the *noroze, which would begin in a few days. Jey Sing, having received the royal orders to quit Dhely without delay, retired to his zemindary of Ambere, unable to assist his wretched sovereign.

A. D. 1719.

The unhappy Ferokhsere having consented to the demands of the syeds, on the eighth of February their troops were admitted into the palace, and the royal guards withdrawn; when Koottub al Moolk with Maharaja Ajeet Sing entered, and posted their dependants where they thought proper, to prevent treachery. None of the imperial servants, but Rukkun ad Dowlah, Imteauz Khan, Rooshun ad Dowlah, and a few domestics and

* First day of the Persian solar year, which is observed as a high festival. The emperor is weighed in a scale against somewhat of every sort, from jewels and gold to the most common necessities of life, which are distributed to the poor.

and eunuchs, were allowed to remain with the emperor. The ameer al amra, in princely splendour and parade, attended by his army, marched through the city, and entered the palace towards evening, his troops remaining under arms without, to prevent disorders in the avenues. He was received with the greatest distinction by the emperor, who shed tears, and placed his own turban upon his head; conferring upon him also, all the jewels he had upon his dress; but the ameer al amra behaved haughtily, refused part of the gifts, and having upbraided his majesty with ingratitude and want of confidence in himself and his brother, who had been the instruments of his exaltation to the throne, took his leave in an hasty manner, neglecting the customary ceremonial of respect at his departure, and returned to his camp. At the same time the vizier, with his followers, left the palace, and the royal guards were readmitted to their stations.

Ferokhsere, though thus disrespectfully treated by his ministers, who, it was easy to perceive, were not now to be controuled, or reconciled to his authority by his condescensions, took no means to protect his person. It is probable, he thought the brothers would be contented with the powers of government, and leave him the name and pageantry of emperor, and that he had resolved to struggle no longer for greater privileges of royalty. Seven days passed after the interview. On the evening of the seventh, he signified his intentions to hunt in the vicinity of Dhely the following morning, but laid aside his design on the receipt of a message from Koottub al Moolk, that the ameer al amra had fixed on the next, as a lucky day, to deliver up the captive prince he had brought from Dekkan, and to receive his audience of dismissal to his government. It has been said, the brothers had information that Ferokhsere's wish to hunt was only a pretence to favour his escape

escape from their hands, and that he had resolved to fly to Maharaja Jey Sing; but this does not appear probable, as he had suffered so many days to elapse without attempting to quit the palace, which he could have more easily effected in disguise, and unattended, than with his usual suite and cumbrous train of majesty.

On the morning of the sixteenth of February, Koottub al Moolk, attended by Maharaja Ajeet Sing, some confidential dependants and guards, came to the citadel, and were allowed as before to dismiss the royal garrison, and supply their posts with their own. The ameer al amra then dispatched his troops to occupy the avenues to the palace, and about three in the afternoon came in great pomp through the city, carrying in his train, upon an elephant in a covered ^a ambaree, the pretended captive prince; but he did not proceed to the palace, alighting at the pavilion of Shaisteh Khan, some distance from it, where he remained. The vizier and Ajeet Sing now introduced themselves to the emperor, and demanded certain concessions and appointments for themselves and friends. Koottub al Moolk in angry terms set forth, that in return for the services performed by himself and his brother, they had met with only ill-founded jealousies, and treacherous attempts upon their lives; of which the royal orders to Daood Khan and others to oppose them were clear proofs; that they could not any longer submit to his authority, unless they had security for their personal safety, by all the offices of the palace being committed to the hands of their own friends, upon which they must insist. Ferokhfere, notwithstanding he saw himself entirely in the power of his enemies, desired they would wait till the approaching festival, when their requests should be complied with; which the vizier refused, and Rukkun ad Dowlah attempting to pacify his anger, was ordered in opprobrious terms to quit the citadel. This he did in the greatest confusion, and was conveyed to his own house in the palanquin of Imteauz

^a A canopied seat.

Imteauz Khan, not using his own, through fear of being molested by the troops. Ferokhsere now retreated to the apartments of the women, which he hoped would not be violated by the rebels. Night was advanced, and day, like the fallen star of the emperor, sunk in darkness. The gates of the citadel were closed upon his friends. The vizier and Ajeet Sing remained within. This night was dreadful to the inhabitants of the city. No one knew what was passing in the palace, and the troops of the ameer al amra, with ten thousand Mharattas, remained under arms. Early in the morning, a rumour took place that the vizier had been killed by Ajeet Sing, who had resolved to protect the emperor, his son in law; upon which several noblemen prepared to rise against the ameer al amra. By this time a quarrel had happened between some soldiers of Khan Dowraun and a party of Mharattas, and while they were engaged, the train of Mahummud Ameen Khan, who was coming to visit the ameer al amra, appearing, was mistaken by the Mharattas for an enemy, which struck them with a panic, and they endeavoured to fly out of the city. The populace attacked them, and killed about fifteen hundred, with three chiefs of note. So great was their fright, that numbers quitted their horses, and sought shelter in houses, where they were plundered. Mahummud Ameen Khan repaired to the ameer al amra, and exculpated himself from causing this disorder. Ghazee ad Dien Khan, Sadaut Khan, his sons, and other nobles, had now drawn out their dependants against the rebels in one quarter of the city, and in another, Munnower Azaree had collected five thousand men for the same purpose; Rukkun ad Dowlah and other amras were also ready with their troops in another part. The friends of the ameer al amra, alarmed at the rumour of his brother's death, and the flight of the Mharattas, were in a wavering state, and ready to make their escape, when their courage was revived by intelligence of the vizier's safety. This was soon spread abroad, and the emperor's

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servants were dispersed with little bloodshed or resistance. It was now confirmed that Ferokhsere had been taken prisoner; and the ^a nobut announced to the people from the walls of the citadel, the accession of Ruffeh al Dirjaut to the throne, which appeased the tumult, and order was in great measure restored. Many houses however were plundered, and the royal stables burned, during the disturbance.

It is said, that Koottub al Moolk repeatedly requested Ferokhsere to quit the private apartments, and designed to leave him in possession of the throne, if he would consent to certain restrictions; but the emperor would not trust his person from the haram. While arguments were carrying on between him and the vizier, the tumult began without the city, and Koottub al Moolk received information from his brother, that no time was to be lost, as there was danger of a general revolt of their friends and the people. Reduced to extremity, he commanded some Afghauns to force the doors, under the conduct of his brother Nudjum ad Dien, who having effected it, though bravely resisted by the Georgian, Ethiopian, and Turkish women-attendants, entered the ladies' apartments. After much search, he found the emperor, surrounded by his mother, wife, daughter, and other princesses, who entreated for his safety; but, at such a time, in vain. He was forced from among them in the most injurious manner, and immediately confined in a dark chamber, over one of the gates of the palace. Ruffeh al Dirjaut, the son of Ruffeh al Kudder, youngest son of Shaw Aulum, was then taken from among the confined princes, and seated on the throne, with the title of ^bAbou Berkaut Shumse ad Dien Mahummud. His accession was announced

^a Band of Music.

^b Son of divine favour, Sun of the religion of Mahummud.

nounced by the sound of the nobut and firing of cannon, and in a few hours order and quiet were restored to the capital. Excluding the reign of Jehaundar Shaw, which by some is added to that of Ferokhsere, he sat on the throne of Hindoostan six years, four months, and a few days, according to lunar computation.

X 2

ABOU

ABOU BERKAUT RUFFEH AL DIRJAUT.

UPON the accession of the new emperor, who was yet in his minority, it was agreed, that Koottub al Moolk should reside in the palace; which he filled with his own dependants and relations, removing even the eunuchs and other domesticks for those of his own choice. At the first public divan a firmaun was issued, at the request of Maharaja Ajeet Sing and Ruttun Chund, to annul the capitation tax on unbelievers, and orders were sent to the different provinces confirming the governors and officers in possession of their posts. Rukkun ad Dowlah was put under strict confinement, his fortune confiscated, and proclamation made for the discovery of his effects, as it was supposed he had secreted great sums and valuable jewels given him by Ferokhsere among his friends. Severe tortures were also inflicted upon his person, to compel a disclosure of his wealth. The jaghires and property of all the dependants of the late emperor were seized, excepting those of the ranny his queen, daughter to Ajeet Sing, at whose request they were spared, and she was allowed to return to her father. The *walla shawee munsubdars and cavalry, many of whom had served long without pay in hope of obtaining jaghires, and those who had an allowance but were greatly in arrears, were disbanded without receiving any part; and orders issued, that such of them as chose it, might enter the service of the ameer al amra, at fifty rupees per month for each horseman. Mahummud Ameen Khan was

* A corps raised before Ferokhsere's accession to the empire, by that prince.

was appointed second, and Muzzuffir Khan third bukhshi. Though Nizam al Moolk, regarding the uncertainty of the times, wished to retire, he was prevailed upon to accept the soubahdary of Malwa. Sirbullund Khan, who had marched towards Cabul, but had halted about thirty miles from Dhely to watch the turn of events, was recalled to court, and received a fresh investiture in his government; after which he proceeded. Mahummud Reza was made chief cauzee, and Ameer Khan, an old nobleman of Aulumgeer's reign, appointed *suddur al suddoor; but all the affairs of revenue and justice were in fact only the deputies of Raja Ruttun Chund. No alteration was made in the arrangements of the provinces, lest it should occasion discontent and confusion, of which little had yet occurred at any distance from the capital.

The death of Ferokhsere is related in two different modes, both of which shall be given, leaving the truth or falsehood on their authors.

It has been confidently said by many credible persons, that the brothers, without inflicting any personal injury, committed him to the care of an Afghaun officer in a gateway of the palace. Ferokhsere one night left his chamber, while his keeper was asleep, intending to let himself down from the battlements of the citadel, by his turban and vestband; but was soon discovered by the wary Afghaun, who forced him with blows from the terrace; which disgrace so affected the unhappy prince, that he beat his head with such force against the walls of his prison as to fracture his skull, and he died immediately.

Mahummud Ashum relates the following account, which is given in his own words.

“ The

* An office somewhat similar to chief justice. The intendency of charity lands, and pensions to the learned and religious, were also under its controul.

" The wretched emperor was confined nearly two months in
 " a dark chamber, enduring various calamities. A hot iron was
 " drawn over his eyes, but it did not wholly destroy his sight.
 " Still anxious for liberty, he sent repeated messages to the syeds,
 " begging mercy and restoration to his throne; offering to act in
 " all affairs agreeably to their pleasure. Sometimes he flattered
 " his keeper, Abdoolla Khan Afghaun, promising him the greatest
 " rewards if he would conduct him to Maharaja Jey Sing; of
 " which the Afghaun informing his employers, they became fear-
 " ful of his escape, and resolved upon his death. Poison was
 " twice mingled in his victuals without effect; but being adminis-
 " tered a third time, he was thrown into violent agonies, and
 " continued long in torture. During his pangs he invoked curses
 " on his murderers, and called on God, whose name had witnessed
 " the treaty he had made with them, to avenge his cause by in-
 " stant punishment. The brothers, upon this, ordered his death
 " to be hastened with the bow-string, but it was with difficulty the
 " executioners could place it round his neck, as he seized it with
 " his hands, and they were obliged to beat them with clubs, so
 " that he was put to great pain before he expired. It was re-
 " ported, that he was also mangled with sabres; but the author
 " has heard this contradicted by the executioners themselves, who
 " related the above particulars to him with tears of compunction.
 " The evening of the day following, the body was carried for in-
 " terment to the tomb of *Hoomaioon. The populace attended
 " the procession in crowds, cursing the syeds, and lamenting
 " Ferokhsere, who was much beloved by the meaner sort for his
 " great charities towards them. They insulted the officers who
 " conducted the funeral by abusive words, pelting them with stones
 " and filth; nor would any one receive from them the alms
 " offered as usual on such occasions. On the third day after the
 " burial, all the poor of the city repaired to the terrace on which
 " the

* Father of the emperor Akber.

“ the corpse had been washed, to renew their mournings; and
 “ having subscribed to procure ^a molowees and buy ^b victuals, con-
 “ tinued lamenting and praying all night till the dawn of morn-
 “ ing.” Thus far says Mahummud Ashum. But surely the divine
 vengeance was shewn in the misfortunes and death of Ferokh-
 fere, for he had inflicted those cruelties on others which he now
 tasted of himself. As for the fyeds they shortly also received re-
 tribution for their actions.

The brothers, now possessed of absolute authority and the im-
 perial treasures, acted as they thought proper. They divided
 money, jewels, elephants, horses, and rich plate between them;
 and Koottub al Moolk, who was much addicted to women, seized
 several ladies of the royal haram for his own use. The new
 emperor was but a child, and no more than a pageant; but he
 did not long survive his exaltation, dying of a consumption, after
 a nominal reign of four months and a few days; being succeeded
 by his younger brother Ruffeh ad Dowlah.

RUFFEH

^a Professors of divinity, or teachers.

^b At the fateah, or third day after the interment of a corpse, the relations
 and friends of the deceased meet to pray for the repose of the soul, when
 victuals are distributed to all comers and the poor. This ceremony is also
 renewed every anniversary of the death.

* RUFFEH AD DOWLAH.

IMMEDIATELY on the accession of Ruffeh ad Dowlah, a rebellion broke out at Agra. The governor of this citadel, willing to take advantage of the troubles of the state, supported by his garrison and some munsubdars of the province, proclaimed as emperor sultan Nekoofeer, son of Akber, youngest son of Aulumgeer, hoping that he should speedily be joined by Maharaja Jey Sing, and other nobles inimical to the syeds. The brothers, upon receiving intelligence of this commotion, marched with Ruffeh ad Dowlah from Dhely without delay, and reached Agra before the governor could receive any important assistance. He held out the citadel for some days, in hopes of succour; but, finding that a plot was laid by his own troops to deliver him up to his enemy, he put himself to death, and the place was given up to the ministers, who punished a few of the officers with death, and remanded Nekoofeer to his confinement. Soon after this, Ruffeh ad Dowlah was taken ill, and being past hopes of recovery, Nudjum Ali Khan was dispatched to Dhely to bring down one of the confined princes to succeed him. He fixed upon Rooshun Akhter, the son of Jehaun Shaw, son of Shaw Aulum, eldest surviving son of Aurungzebe, who, with his mother, had been confined since the death of his father and accession of Jehaundar Shaw. Ruffeh
ad

* Dignifier of the state.

ad Dowlah died before his arrival, after a reign of only three months. This event was kept secret for some days in the camp, to prevent disorder, till the arrival of 'Rooshun Akhter; when the royal corpse was sent in great funeral pomp to Dhely, where it was interred in the mausoleum of Koottub ad Dien, near his brother and predecessor Abou Berkaut.

• Of brilliant star.

VOL. II.

Y

MAHUMMUD

MAHUMMUD SHAW.

ROOSHUN Akhter arrived in the camp at Futtehpoore on the A. D. 1720, eleventh of Zeekaud; and on the fifteenth of the same month, about eight in the morning, being the selected fortunate hour, added splendour to the throne of Hindoostan by his auspicious accession. He took the title of *Abou Futteh Naffir ad Dien Mahummud Shaw. He was at this time in his seventeenth year. Navob Koodfia, his mother, followed him from Dhely, and being a woman of great judgment and good sense, did not neglect a regard to the circumstances of the times, but devoted her attention to acquire the confidence of the brothers in all affairs. The dependants of her late husband Jehaun Shaw would have gone to meet her, but she forbade them, and commanded that no one should approach the door of her apartments to present offerings, being resolved to remove every cause of jealousy from the syeds. ^bFifteen thousand rupees per mensem were allotted for the expenses of her household. The emperor was surrounded by the dependants of the vizier and ameer al amra, without whose assent he did not even move from the camp to take the air; and by the instruction of his mother, he studied wholly the pleasure of his ministers, who conducted the affairs of the empire with absolute sway.

As the brothers were not satisfied with the conduct of Jubeleh Ram Naggir, governor of Aleabad, who had shewn them disrespect,

* Father of victory, champion of religion.

^b About fifteen hundred pounds sterling.

disrespect, the ameer al amra prepared to march to that quarter, but suddenly received intelligence of his death, upon which he imprudently observed, It was to be regretted that his head had not been seen by the people on the point of a spear. This speech coming to the ears of Gheerdhir, nephew to the deceased, he resolved not to submit to the authority of the syeds, collected troops, and assumed independance in his province. Upon this, the ameer al amra moved the royal camp towards Agra, ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown over the Jumna, and, giving out that he should soon follow with the emperor, detached some troops against the rebel. About this time Meer Jumlah was appointed suddur al suddoor; but the powers of this office, as of every other, were controuled by Ruttun Chund; infomuch that he even constituted the judges of the Mahummedan law in the provinces. It is said, that one day, taking some persons to be introduced as cauzees to Koottub al Moolk, the vizier, laughing, observed, that he appointed mussulmaun divines, though a Hindoo; upon which one of his companions wittily remarked, that the raja, having happily settled his temporal concerns, had turned his attention to spiritual affairs.

Gheerdhir, alarmed at the threatened march of the ameer al amra, sent petitions to court, offering to evacuate the fort of Aleabad, if the ministers would send Raja Ruttun Chund to assure him of their friendship, and appoint him to another government. His request was complied with, and the soubahdary of Oude was conferred upon him, with promotion to a higher rank. This indulgence was considered as a proof of weakness in the ministers by the provincial governors, who now began to relax in their obedience. It was also rumoured abroad, that the brothers had differed concerning the division of plunder in the citadel of Agra, which occasioned mistrust and jealousy among their dependants.

Nizam al Moolk, who had been appointed soubahdar of Malwa, had by his vigour and abilities restored that province to a flourishing situation; but the reputation he acquired rendered him an object of jealousy to the brothers, who wished to remove him to another quarter, less favourable to his interest than the frontier of Dekkan, where he had great influence with the Mharattas. They offered him the choice of four other soubahs, under pretence that the ameer al amra wished to reside in Malwa, as from its vicinity he could better watch the affairs of his government of Dekkan; but Nizam al Moolk, not wishing to quit his post, excused himself, and prepared to resist the demand by adding to his force. It is said also, that he had the boldness to conclude a letter to the vizier with this verse: "I am not ungrateful, I can swear with truth; I am not like you, I can swear with truth." Upon reading this, the syeds were enraged, and sending for the agent of Nizam al Moolk, imprudently treated him with insult, and spoke of his employer in opprobrious language.

Nizam al Moolk, upon information of the behaviour of the syeds, resolved to throw off his obedience to their authority, and seek an independant power in Dekkan. To this he looked with greater hopes of success, as Mahummud Ameen, and other Tooraunee nobles at court, had assured him they were weary of the pride and haughtiness of the usurpers, and would try every means to ruin them, which would easily be effected if they could be separated, and most probably his invading Dekkan would draw the ameer al amra to that quarter. They sent him also a private note from the emperor, expressing his encouragement of any plan to extricate him from the hands of the vizier and ameer al amra, and appointing him to the nizamat of all Dekkan. Nizam al Moolk began his march from Malwa, and intelligence of it soon reached the brothers, who dispatched Dillawer Ali Khan at the head of a considerable army in pursuit. About this time advices were received of

A. D. 1720.

of the success of Abd al Summud Khan, soubahdar of Lahore, against the rebellious Afghans, who had raised a dangerous insurrection in that province.

Nizam al Moolk, having crossed the Nerbudda, prevailed on the governor of ^aAsere to put him in possession of that very important fortress, for a large sum of money; and he was equally fortunate in obtaining the citadel of Boorahanpore on the same terms. He was also joined by his relation Eiwuz Khan, soubahdar of Berar, a general of reputation, and his whole army. Runna, a Mharatta chief inimical to Raja Sahoo, entered his service with two thousand horse, and many zemindars flocked to his standard; as did also Anwer Khan, governor of Boorahanpore. At this time the mother of Syef ad Dien Khan, a near relation of the ameer al amra, who was on the road to Boorahanpore, fearful of ill usage, sent her jewels to Nizam al Moolk, who would not accept them; but treated her messenger respectfully, and gave her an escort of two hundred horse to conduct her to the army of Dillawer Ali Khan; which action procured him great credit. The ameer al amra, receiving advice of his rapid progress, prepared to march in person against him, though Raja Ruttun Chund and other friends advised peace, and that he should yield the soubahdary of Dekkan to him, as a favour from the emperor. About this time advice arrived of a dangerous tumult having happened in Kashmeer, between the mullamauns and Hindoos, owing to some religious disputes, in which the greatest cruelties were committed on both sides.

This disagreeable intelligence was quickly followed by some, still more unwelcome to the brothers, of the defeat and death of Dillawer Ali Khan, with little loss to Nizam al Moolk, who was marching rapidly towards Aurungabad. Koottub al Moolk and the

^a Once the capital of the kingdom of Khandeshe, reduced by Akber. It is now in possession of Sindia, a Mharatta chief.

the ameer al amra now became irresolute, and distracted in their councils; one time giving out that they would both march with the emperor to Dekkan; at another, resolving to offer terms; and then again determined on war. The ameer al amra would have taken off Mahummud Ameen Khan, whom he suspected of treachery, but this the vizier would not allow. Amid these alarms, on Friday the twenty second of Ramzaun, occurred at Agra a dreadful earthquake. It continued at intervals for many days, during which numerous buildings were thrown down, and many people killed. It was accompanied with a rumbling noise in the earth, that filled the hearts of men with fear, and the superstitious regarded it as the forerunner of downfall to the ministers, who also were not unaffected with this belief.

In the month of Zeekaud it was resolved, that the emperor, with Kootub al Moolk, should march to Dhely, and the ameer al amra to Dekkan; but this plan was delayed, owing to the jealousies which the latter had of the Tooraunee nobles, particularly Mahummud Ameen Khan; who, suspecting treachery, had fortified himself in his quarters; but this obstacle was at length overcome, and a new treaty of friendship concluded.

The fugitives, to the amount of some thousands, who had escaped from the field on the defeat of Dillawer Ali Khan, joined themselves with Aulum Ali Khan at Aurungabad, who had marched from that city with an army of five and twenty thousand horse to oppose Nizam al Moolk. Twelve thousand of this force were Mharattas, whom he detached to harass the enemy's army, by laying waste the country, and cutting off his supplies. Nizam al Moolk, having sent his heavy baggage and women to Afere, began his march from Boorahanpore, crossed the Poorna with great expedition, and pitched his camp at Ballapore, where he resolved to wait and give battle. He was now equally successful as before; Aulum

Aulum Ali Khan was defeated and slain, and his death left the nizam without a rival in Dekkan.

The grief and disorder which the intelligence of this misfortune occasioned to the brothers, is not to be expressed, especially the ameer al amra, whose wives and family were in Dekkan; but he was relieved shortly from his fears for their safety. The governor of Dowlutabad, though he had suffered great injuries from him, had the generosity to admit them into the fortrefs, where he shewed them attention and respect. News arrived that Mubariz Khan, governor of Hyderabad, had joined Nizam al Moolk with seven thousand horse.

After much deliberation, it was agreed that Koottub al Moolk should remain at Dhely, and the ameer al amra move with the emperor to Dekkan; accordingly the former, having taken leave, proceeded towards the capital, and the imperial army pursued the route to Dekkan.

The usurpations of the syeds had long been regarded with disgust by the nobility, who in general wished their destruction. Mahummud Ameen Khan, who conversed in the Turkish language with the emperor, had gained his assent to the plans of Nizam al Moolk, and had resolved if possible to procure the assassination of the ameer al amra. He communicated his intentions to * Saaudut Khan, the fojedaur of Biauna, and Hyder Khan. It was agreed to cast lots who should strike the blow, and the chance fell upon the latter. On the fourth or fifth day's march from Agra, just as the emperor had entered his tents, Mahummud Ameen Khan, pretending illness, took a sudden leave, and communicated the plot to Hyder Koolli Khan, commander of the royal artillery, who agreed

A. D. 1720.

* Afterwards navob of Oude, and great grandfather to the present vizier, Asoph ad Dowlah.

agreed to support him with all his force. He had before gained over several other chiefs to assist in defending the emperor and his friends, should the followers of the ameer al amra rise to revenge his assassination.

The ameer al amra, having conducted the emperor to his tents, had taken leave, and was proceeding to his own quarter in a palanquin. He had reached the gate of the *kullaul bar, when Hyder Khan appeared, holding a petition, and crying aloud for justice on Mahummud Ameen Khan. The attendants would have driven him away, but the ameer al amra commanded them to let him approach, which he did, and presented the paper. While he was engaged in reading it, Hyder Khan drew his dagger and plunged it into his side. The ameer al amra struck the assassin a violent blow with his foot, at the same instant crying out, "Put the emperor to death." The shock of his motion overset the palanquin, and he fell dead on the ground. A hundred swords were drawn in an instant, and the daring assassin was cut in pieces; but a band of Moguls who had been placed ready by Mahummud Ameen Khan, now approaching, dispersed the attendants, and, cutting off the head of the ameer al amra, carried it to the emperor.

Ghyrut Khan, nephew to the deceased, resolved to revenge his death; and collecting what troops he could in the confusion, marched towards the emperor's encampment; but Mahummud Ameen Khan, Saaudut Khan, and other nobles, had placed Mahummud Shaw upon an elephant at the head of their forces, and drawn out the royal artillery. A smart skirmish however ensued, in which Ghyrut Khan being killed, the dependants of the ameer al amra fell into confusion, and were soon dispersed. His tents were given up to the plunder of the camp followers, who in an instant

* An enclosure of network round the royal tents.

instant levelled them with the ground, set them on fire, and seized upon the riches they contained.

After this victory, Hyder Koooli Khan sent offers of pardon and encouragement to Mohukkum Sing, dewan to the ameer al amra, which he accepted. Ruttun Chund had the same from Mahummud Ameen Khan; but fearful for his life, he wrote a note to inform Koottub al Moolk of what had happened, and then trying to make his escape, was seized by the populace, who hated him for his pride and cruelty. After being severely beaten, he was carried to Mahummud Ameen Khan, and put in confinement. Several other dependants also suffered, and many joined the emperor's party on assurances of protection. Mahummud Ameen Khan was now appointed vizier, with the title of ^a Eatimaud ad Dowlah; and Khan Dowraun ameer al amra, with the title of ^b Sumfam ad Dowlah. Their relations and dependants were advanced to honours and high stations; and all who had assisted in the defence of the emperor were rewarded by the royal favour. Eatimaud ad Dowlah sent off the bodies of the ameer al amra, Ghyrut Khan, and others, his relations slain in the skirmish, in great funeral pomp, to be interred at Ajmere in the tomb of their ancestors. How forcible do the words of the poet appear, when we reflect upon the above events! "This world, my son, is not eternal, therefore expect not constancy from its smiles; even the power of Solomon passed away. Happy is he who leaves behind him the reputation of justice and mercy." These qualities were fully possessed by the ameer al amra. His conduct to Ferokhsere and his favourites, was from the necessity of self-preservation; and who will not guard his own life and honour at the expense of those who seek to destroy them? We have never heard of any statesman willingly resigning them, even among the chosen of God and

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^a Reliance of the state.

^b Sword of the state.

the prophets. How could such eminent personages as Koottub al Moolk and the ameer al amra, submit their lives and honours to Ferokhsere, after the important services they had yielded him, to raise the consequence of such wretched favourites as Meer Jumlah and Rukkun ad Dowlah, who were infamous for their vices?

Koottub al Moolk was arrived within forty coss of Dhely when a camel courier brought him intelligence of his brother's assassination, in a confused note from Ruttun Chund. His eyes were drowned in sorrow, and life to him now appeared irksome. Seeing, however, no remedy but patience, he resolved to proceed to Dhely without delay. Some of his friends advised him to march immediately against the emperor, who probably was yet but weak, and not joined by the troops of the ameer al amra; but he refused this counsel, thinking it hazardous to oppose Mahummud Shaw, unless supported by a rival from the descendants of Timur. He thought it most prudent to return to the capital, set another prince on the throne, strengthen his interest by making friends among the old nobles resident in the city, and collecting more troops. He accordingly proceeded by forced marches, but in such disorder, that the villagers and banditti plundered his baggage, and such persons as could not keep up with his main body. One day, the officer who guarded his advanced tents was cut to pieces with his escort, and a considerable caravan bringing supplies was plundered in a village, only three miles from his army. The farmers turned out the managers of the syeds' jaghires, and possessed themselves of their rents and effects. Koottub al Moolk had sent an express to his brother Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan, governor of Dhely, commanding him to place one of the confined princes on the throne, and endeavour to preserve quiet in the city by contradicting the report of the assassination, and to levy troops. Nudjum ad Dien, upon receipt of the order, gave out that Eatimad ad Dowlah was killed, and sent a force to surround his house, and keep his family prisoners;

prisoners; but they found it well guarded by trusty dependants, who would not submit to injury. Notwithstanding his affliction, Nudjum ad Dien made the usual procession on the ^aeed of sacrifice, and upon his return from it, sent to offer the throne to the sons of Jehaundar Shaw, but neither would accept it. He did the same to sultan Nekoseer, but he declined it; when the offer was embraced by sultan Ibrahim, son of Ruffeh al Kudder, and grandson of Shaw Aulum.

On the eleventh of Zeehudje, sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne with the usual ceremonies. He was visited on the second day after by Koottub al Moolk, who prevailed on the nobility at the capital to accept offices under him, and advanced them large sums of money to levy troops. He entertained every person who could bring a horse and arms, at ^beighty rupees per month, without distinction of good or bad, which however occasioned much disgust to his veterans and those who were well mounted. In a few days he had a promiscuous army of eighty thousand horse, but the greater part ill provided; and it is said, he advanced more than a ^ccorore of rupees on this occasion. Many of the nobles of Ferokhsere's reign were employed, and among them Rukkun ad Dowlah. They received his money, and deserted him almost immediately.

On the seventeenth of the month Koottub al Moolk accompanied sultan Ibrahim, in as great pomp as the shortness of preparation would allow, from Dhely, and pitched his camp near the ^dEedgaeh not far from the city. Here he was joined by Gholaum Ali Khan and two other chiefs, who had escaped from the emperor's camp. As it was reported that Mahummud Shaw was advancing to the capital

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^a A festival in commemoration of Abraham's offering his son.

^b About ten pounds sterling.

^c A million sterling.

^d Place of worship on the eeds or festivals.

capital by the way of Raajepootana, Koottub al Moolk made his third day's halt at the tomb of Koottub ad Dien ; but having intelligence of an alteration in the royal route, he moved to Feridabad. He was joined daily by numerous bands of fyeds from Barreh, several Afghaun chiefs and principal zemindars, also by many dependants of his deceased brother, who deserted Mahummud Shaw after having received sums of money in advance and other favours. Chooramun, raja of the Jauts, came to offer his services, and presented three elephants and several camels, which he had plundered from the imperial army. On the ninth of Mohirrim, Mahummud Shaw marched from Shawpore, where he had waited several days in hopes of being joined by Abd al Summud Khan and Maharaja Jey Sing, but they did not arrive. The latter sent his dewan with four thousand horse ; and Mahummud Khan Bungush, with other Rohilla chiefs and their dependants, joined the royal army.

On the ninth and tenth both armies moved in order of battle, but did not come to action, though several skirmishes happened between detached parties, and Chooramun attempted, but in vain, to capture the royal magazine and the bullocks of the artillery then grazing near the camp. Hyder Koolli Khan, *meer atush, commanded Mahummud Shaw's advanced line, Saaudut Khan and Mahummud Khan Bungush the right, and Sumfam ad Dowlah the left wing. Eatimaud ad Dowlah took post with the emperor in the center. Meer Jumlah was entrusted with the baggage of the army, and Affud Ali Khan protected the haram. The artillery was stationed in the front of the army, and behind it the war elephants in strong armour, with maffy chains to wield with their trunks.

Koottub al Moolk, having marched from Houffunpore, pitched his camp within three cofs of the imperial army ; and on the twelfth formed his order of battle, but in much confusion, owing

* Commander of artillery.

to the irregular dispositions of the syeds of Barreh, all eager for pre-eminence. At length Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan took the command of the advanced line, Koottub al Moolk with sultan Ibrahim took post in the center, but there was no regular commanders of the wings. The night of the thirteenth was passed under arms; and in the morning, Mahummud Shaw having commanded the head of Ruttun Chund to be struck off and thrown under his elephant, as a lucky omen, advanced to give battle. A cannonade was kept up the whole day, when towards evening the advanced line of the rebels was put to flight and the imperialists took possession of their ground, but did not push this advantage farther. Koottub al Moolk at sunset ordered a small tent to be pitched for his repose. Both armies remained under arms, and the imperial artillery continued firing all night; which so incommoded the enemy, that many chiefs with their followers fled, and in the morning not more than seventeen out of an hundred thousand horse remained with Koottub al Moolk. He however was yet undaunted, and at daylight charged the imperialists. A bloody and long conflict ensued, in which the fortune of Mahummud Shaw prevailed. Koottub al Moolk, deserted by all but a few personal attendants, dismounted from his elephant and fought bravely on foot; when he was taken prisoner with his brother Nudjum ad Dien, and carried to the emperor. The victory was now complete, and the baggage of the vanquished fell into the hands of the conquerors. Sultan Ibrahim, who had fled from the field, was taken, and remanded to confinement. The news of the victory reached Dhely in the evening of the fourteenth, and occasioned joy or grief, according to the hopes and fears of different interests. The wellwishers of the emperor rejoiced, and those of Koottub al Moolk were overwhelmed with sorrow. Of the latter, several escaped with their effects, and others were thrown into prison by the cutwal of the city. His women, covering their afflictions with the veil of patience, would not set their feet without the citadel of modesty; but Abdoolla Khan

Khan Kaufee, who had been left to protect them, extended the hand of rapine upon their effects, and fled with a great booty to his own country, rendering his name odious and accursed to posterity. Gholaum Ali Khan, nephew to Koottub al Moolk, and his adopted son, Nujjabut Ali Khan, put on disguises, hoping to escape, but they were stopped, and taken prisoners on the road.

Mahummud Shaw, after this decisive and important victory, rewarded the services of his nobility and army according to their merits, and prepared to march to Dhely. On the nineteenth he encamped near the tomb of the holy * Nizam ad Dien, where he paid his devotions, and conferred his bounties on the attendants and pilgrims. Here he waited two days for the fortunate instant to make his entry into the capital. Hyder Koolli Khan was promoted to the rank of seven thousand, and entrusted with the care of Koottub al Moolk. Saaudut Khan was honoured with the ^b mach maurattib, and title of Bahadur Jung. On the twenty second the emperor entered the city in great pomp, upon an elephant most sumptuously caparisoned, and attended by several others in housings of embroidery and cloth of gold. Several travelling thrones and other carriages, richly ornamented with precious stones, gold, and enamel, dazzled the eyes of the beholders. The troops of the household and those of the nobility were all newly clothed, and encreased the splendour of the cavalcade. Numbers of beautiful horses, in furniture set with jewels and enamelled, were led in the procession, which was splendid beyond all description. Money was scattered in profusion to the populace, whose acclamations at the restoration of the imperial authority reached the heavens. The emperor arrived in the palace about eight o'clock, where his mother, Koodfia Begum, and the other princesses first made their offerings,

* A celebrated saint.

^b Certain insignia, the principal of which is a fish.

offerings, waving round his head golden basons filled with jewels, and gold and silver coins, which were afterwards distributed to the poor. After this ceremony, the nobility and people were permitted to present the nuzzers and gifts of congratulation. The empire now once more enjoyed perfect peace, and the fairest prospect appeared of a long and glorious reign to Mahummud Shaw.

On the last day of the month, Abd al Summud Khan came to pay his respects at court from his government of Lahore, and was received with great favour; also Maharaja Jey Sing, and Raja Gheerdhir, soubahdar of Oude; at the intercession of the former of whom the religious capitation tax was again repealed, much to the satisfaction of the Hindoos. An address of congratulation, accompanied by an offering, arrived from Nizam al Moolk, who was confirmed in the government of Dekkan. A petition, with a large sum of money, was received from Moorshud Koooli Khan, navob of Bengal, who was continued in that soubahdary. Zakariah Khan was appointed governor of Kashmeer. On the twenty second of Rubbi al Awul, the emperor marched from Dhely on a hunting excursion, on which he received intelligence of the dangerous illness of Eatimaud ad Dowlah. This nobleman died on the twenty ninth, after having enjoyed the office of vizier only twenty two days; nor was he regretted by the people, to whom he was oppressive. Intending to enlarge his palace, he had dispossessed seven hundred families in his neighbourhood of their habitations; which, however, were restored upon his decease by his son Kummir ad Dien Khan. The immense wealth Eatimaud ad Dowlah had acquired, from the confiscations and plunder of the syeds and their dependants, was given up by the emperor to his heirs. This contradicts the imputation of avarice, too generally laid against Mahummud Shaw; for at this period the royal treasury was very low, the late ministers having spoiled it of vast sums, and even coined into money the golden and silver rails of the hall of audience. It was the general
usage

usage of the princes of the house of Timur, to seize the effects of their deceased courtiers ; and they considered it as generous to leave a small part to the heirs. In the case of Eatimaud ad Dowlah, whose wealth had in fact been plundered from the palace by the sycs, the emperor had a right to resume possession ; but, in general, the privilege of confiscation is tyrannical, and disgraceful to the royal family ; a custom, which no judgment or law can vindicate. How unjust, that a person who had spent his whole life, and perhaps sacrificed it, in the service of his king, should, on his death-bed, see his wives and children employed in dispersing and concealing his property, instead of comforting and alleviating his cares by sympathy and sorrow !

The death of Eatimaud ad Dowlah was attributed, by the common people, to the effect of divine judgment, for his conduct to a celebrated devotee. This man, named Nummood, pretended a mission from heaven to correct the abuses which had crept into the muslimaun religion ; and his success in making votaries was so great, that the ministers were apprehensive of a dangerous insurrection. Eatimaud ad Dowlah, during his illness, sent guards to seize his person ; but the impostor had collected his disciples, and resolved to defend himself ; at the same time denouncing the vengeance of God against the vizier. The guards, either alarmed by superstition, or the numbers of his followers, returned without attempting to arrest him ; and Eatimaud ad Dowlah being just then seized with the agonies of death, his women, overcome with dread, were weak enough to send a messenger, with a large sum of money, to appease the wrath of Nummood, and to request his prayers for the recovery of their lord. The impostor, on receiving the account of his situation, cried aloud to his companions that he had struck an arrow into the heart of an infidel, who would not recover : and Eatimaud ad Dowlah dying, the belief of Nummood's

mood's apostleship was confirmed among the vulgar more than ever. He continued in high reputation during his life, but upon his death, his sons quarrelling with a confidential servant, he disclosed the scheme of the imposture, and the heresy in great measure ceased.

On the twenty second of Rubbi al Saunee, Einaiut Oollah Khan was appointed to exercise the functions of vizier, but without the title; the emperor wishing to confer the post upon Nizam al Moolk, who was detained in Dekkan by some commotions in that country.

The inhabitants of Ajmere and Guzarat having sent complaints to court of the oppressive conduct of the deputies of Maharaja Ajeet Sing, their governor, the emperor removed him from his employments, and appointed Hyder Koalli Khan to the former, and Muzzuffir Ali Khan to the latter province. Ajeet Sing, upon intelligence of his removal, rose in rebellion, and took possession of the town of Ajmere. Here, having assembled the chief officers of the province, he produced before them the imperial firmaun, under the signature of Mahummud Shaw, constituting him soubahdar of Guzarat and Ajmere during life, which had been imprudently given him by the emperor's mother, on his accession to the throne, in order to ensure his fidelity, should the syeds have meditated the deposal of Mahummud Shaw. He dispatched a copy of this, with a petition, to the presence, representing his removal as a breach of the royal promise, and a disgrace, to resist which he would hazard his life; but that if his majesty would leave him Ajmere, he would willingly resign Guzarat, and return to his duty. Upon receipt of the petition, a council was held, and Sumfam ad Dowlah, ameer al amra, considering the disordered state of the imperial finances, advised that Ajeet Sing should be indulged with the province of Guzarat, and Ajmere be entrusted to a mussulmaun nobleman, as it was nearer the capital, and a place of great veneration to the faithful. The emperor and Hyder

Koolli Khan were for punishing the rebel, and Saaudut Khan was summoned from Agra to command an army against him. On his arrival, preparations were set on foot, but owing to the disagreements of the nobles at court, who were unwilling to be under his command, and the indolence of the emperor, they went on but slowly. In the mean time, intelligence arrived that Muzzuffir Ali Khan, soubahdar of Ajmere, who, unable to proceed to the province with his small force, had halted till he should be joined by Saaudut Khan, had been plundered by his troops, long in arrear, was obliged to fly, and had returned the commission of his government to the presence. Accounts were also received that two of Ajeet Sing's sons had plundered several of the royal towns, and that the rich city of *Narnoul had been ravaged by their zemindars.

Sumfarn ad Dowlah now resolved to take upon himself the correction of Ajeet Sing, and sent his advanced tents to be pitched without the city, and Hyder Koolli Khan swore to assist him with all his force; but his ardour soon cooled, on reflection that absence from court might prove hurtful to his interest with the emperor. He advised Mahummud Shaw to offer terms to Ajeet Sing, observing, that in the present state of the army victory was doubtful, and even should the rebel be defeated, he would retire to the mountains, and prolong the war, which would be insupportable from the lowness of the royal treasury. The emperor, displeased at this advice, offered the command to Kummir ad Dien Khan, who would not accept it, but upon condition of Koottub al Moolk's being released and detached with him, which was not complied with. Sumfarn ad Dowlah, disgusted at the neglect of his counsel, staid from court; upon which Mahummud Shaw made some concessions, and put himself under his guidance. He pacified Ajeet Sing by promises and indulgence. The regulation of affairs was deferred till the arrival of Nizam al Moolk, whom the emperor had

* Only one hundred miles from Dhely.

had invited to court to take upon him the office of vizier. Intelligence was received of an insurrection of Afghauns in * Peshawir, who after an obstinate engagement had defeated and taken prisoner Khanehzaud Khan, the son of Sirbullund Khan, governor of the province.

In the beginning of this year the emperor was married to Mallakkeh Zummauneh, daughter of Ferokhsere, and the nuptials were celebrated with great splendour and rejoicings. A. H. 1135.
A. D. 1722.

Nizam al Moolk, having settled the affairs of government in Dekkan, obeyed the emperor's summons to court, and was invested with the robes of the vizarut. He earnestly advised the emperor to dedicate his time to the administration of public affairs; but Mahummud Shaw was too much addicted to pleasure to hearken to it. Sumfam ad Dowlah, Kummir ad Dien Khan, and other noblemen, favourites of the emperor, and jealous of the influence of the new vizier, made it their business to divert the royal mind by dissipated amusements; till at length Nizam al Moolk, disgusted at the manners of the court, resigned the exercise of his office, under pretence of punishing Hyder Koolli Khan, who had rebelled in Guzarat, and obtained leave to march from Dhely. He left the capital after a few months stay, much to the satisfaction of Mahummud Shaw and his favourites, who regarded not the decline of the empire, while they were left to the enjoyments of luxury and indolence in the capital. A. H. 1134.
A. D. 1722.

This year, the soubahdary of Agra was conferred upon Maharaja Jey Sing; who had now the satisfaction of reducing the fortress of Toone, against which he had spent so much time and money in the reign of Ferokhsere. Raja Gheerdhir was appointed governor of Malwa, and succeeded in the soubahdary of Oude by

A a 2

Saaudut

* Dependant on the province of Cabul.

Saaudut Khan, now honoured with the title of * Boorahan al Moolk.

Nizam al Moolk having entered Guzarat, Hyder Koolli Khan finding himself unable to oppose him, pretended madness, and retreated with his followers to Dhely, where he remained some time in disgrace; but having requested to be sent against Raja Ajeet Sing, who still resisted the royal authority, he was taken into favour, and appointed to the government of Ajmere, where he behaved with great gallantry, and dispersed the rebels. Nizam al Moolk, after settling the affairs of Guzarat, left his uncle Hamid Khan as deputy in that province, and proceeding through Malwa, which government had been conferred upon him in room of Maharaja Jey Sing, to establish his authority in that country, returned to Dhely, but did not remain long. Finding the emperor immersed in pleasure, and surrounded by worthless favourites, negligent of affairs, and incapable of a grateful return to his important services, he resolved to repair to his government of Dekkan, where he could be independant. He accordingly left the capital after a short stay, under pretence of a hunting excursion, and hastened to his province. The emperor, alarmed at his sudden departure, dispatched a firmaun privately to Mubariz Khan, soubahdar of Hyderabad, commanding him to attack Nizam al Moolk, and promising him the government of Dekkan if he succeeded. Mubariz Khan obeyed, was defeated, and slain. Nizam al Moolk, after the victory, sent his head to court, with part of his spoils, and a petition congratulating his majesty on the defeat of a rebel. From this period the imperial authority was only nominal in Dekkan, Nizam al Moolk being in fact the sovereign, though ostensibly the viceroy of Mahummud Shaw, who received no tribute but the offerings customary at festivals and other particular occasions. The emperor removed him from the governments of
Malwa

* Guide of the state.

Malwa and Guzarat, appointing Raja Gheerdhir again to the former, and Sirbullund Khan to the latter province.

Nizam al Moolk, in order to divert the attention of the royal arms from chastizing his rebellion, persuaded his uncle Hamid Khan, and the Mharatta chiefs Peelajee and Coantoojee, to raise commotions in Guzarat. Hamid Khan accordingly displaced the imperial officers and the managers of jaghires in the province. This fresh revolt occasioned much confusion at Dhely, and Mahummud Shaw was so enraged at the diffentions among his ministers, none of whom would accept the command of an army against the rebels, that he resolved to release Koottub al Moolk, and restore him to the vizarut; but was prevented from doing this by the sudden death of that nobleman, said to have been from poison, given by the contrivance of the persons jealous of the royal favour towards him. Upon this event, the emperor offered the province of Guzarat to Sirbullund Khan, who accepting it was supplied with a ^a corore of rupees from the royal treasury to raise troops; and at his request Nudjum ad Dien Ali Khan, brother to Koottub al Moolk, was released from his confinement and detached with him.

Sirbullund Khan for a time restored the royal authority in Guzarat; but though the Mharattas were unable to cope with him in a general engagement, they annually laid waste the country, which, from their depredations, did not afford sufficient revenue to pay the royal army; and Sirbullund Khan, not receiving supplies from the capital, was in the end obliged to disband part of his troops, and consent to pay a choute, or fourth part of the revenues, to the Mharattas, as the price of peace. From this period the throne of Dhely received no advantage from Guzarat, which by degrees fell wholly under the power of the Mharattas. The ameer al amra Sumfam ad Dowlah procured the removal of Sirbullund

^a A million sterling.

Sirbullund Khan from his government, under pretence of having disgraced the emperor by submitting to the choute, and Abee Sing, the son of Raja Ajeet Sing, was appointed to succeed him; but, instead of opposing, he entered into closer union with the Mharattas. Sirbullund Khan, who made some opposition to his successor, was prevented from coming to court, and ordered to retire to Agra.

When Nizam al Moolk saw the depraved policy of the court, the weakness of ministers, and their ill treatment of Sirbullund Khan, his wishes to excite the Mharattas to subdue the provinces of Hindoostan increased. He persuaded Bajeeraow, the general of Raja Sahoo, to attempt the reduction of Malwa and Guzarat. Accordingly, Bajeeraow and other chiefs, with a numerous army, having marched against Raja Gheerdhir and the deputies of Raja Abee Sing Rhatoree, attacked both soubahs, laying waste many districts. Raja Gheerdhir was not destitute of courage. He opposed Bajeeraow, but, on account of the smallness of his force, applied for aids to the court; however, notwithstanding frequent petitions to the emperor and the ameer al amra, they had no effect; and he dying during the invasion, was succeeded by Dia Bahadur, his relation, who continued gallantly to resist the enemy. He wrote to court, that while he lived he would prevent the Mharattas from pursuing their conquests, but that if he fell, their attacks would penetrate the whole empire. These representations had no effect;

- A. H. 1143. and at length, Dia Bahadur fell in battle, when Mahummud Khan
 A. D. 1730. Bungush was appointed soubahdar of Malwa; but from the repeated incursions of the Mharattas, he had little power, and in the
 A. D. 1732. year 1145 was superseded by Raja Jey Sing Sewai. From a similarity of religion he supported Bajeeraow, who, at his intercession with the ameer al amra, was appointed soubahdar of Malwa, and that province became in fact under the dominion of the Mharattas. Guzarat fell to them also from the neglect of Abee Sing, and
 much

much devastation occurred in those countries, to the great loss of the empire. The correction of such disorder could only proceed from the hands of the valiant and the wise; what then could be done by the base and dishonourable? The subtle fox cannot overcome the lion, nor is a wooden sword of service in the field of battle. Sumfah ad Dowlah had laid the defence of the empire and chastisement of rebels on the foundation of cunning and deceit, hoping by intrigue to subdue such strong enemies as Nizam al Moolk and Bajecraow. As such schemes were ill-founded, like fireworks upon water, they were of no effect, and every plan he formed, became a cause of decline to the empire. The ministers growing neglectful, the power of the rebellious gained strength. The plain of contention was more extended, and the sources of ruin and disorder more open. At such a time, an emperor was wanting of resolution and firmness, who might have plucked out the weeds of rebellion with manly opposition by the roots, and generals, like Houffein Ali Khan and Zoolfeccar Jung, who would have thrown the cord upon the necks of the obstinate with the hand of valour.

When the Mharattas had reduced Malwa and Guzarat, without opposition from the court, they aspired to further conquests in the imperial territories; and, making daily encroachments, by degrees seized upon several districts of the soubahs of Aleabad and Agra. During these invasions, Mahummud Khan Bungush, soubahdar of Aleabad, having planned the reduction of the * Bonedelas, of whom Raja Chutterfaul was chief, entered that country with an army, and took several places. Chutterfaul, observing the weakness of the imperial authority, applied for assistance to the Mharattas, promising them large sums of money and a share of his territories, as a recompense. Mahummud Khan, puffed up by his easy conquests, had kept only what force he judged necessary to secure

* Inhabitants of Bundelcund, a considerable territory in the provinces of Aleabad and Agra.

secure them, and dismissed the remainder; but as he was but little acquainted with the roads, Chutterfaul surrounded him suddenly with an army. The navob, unable to combat a superior force long in the field, took refuge in the fortress of Jeytghur, where he was closely blockaded by the enemy. His provisions were soon exhausted, and his followers reduced to eat their oxen, horses, asses, and even dogs. He asked aid of the court, but no one attended, till, at last, his son Caim Jung resolved to relieve him, and his wife sent her ^a veil among the Afghauns, to excite them to the deliverance of her husband. The Afghauns collected, and contenting themselves with such pay as the begum of the navob could afford them, marched under the command of Caim Jung, and escorted Mahummud Khan in safety from Jeytghur to Aleabad. The imperial ministers, making a pretence of Mahummud Khan's ill success, removed him from the subahdary of Aleabad, and appointed in his room Sirbullund Khan, who deputed his son Khanehzad Khan to command, himself residing at court, though he seldom visited the emperor, being disgusted with ill usage.

A. D. 1732.

In the year 1145, the emperor being on a hunting excursion, received intelligence of the Mharattas plundering in the neighbourhood of Agra; upon which he marched towards them, but after a few days, the enemy retreating, he returned to Dhely.

In the following year, the Mharattas having extended their incursions into the province of Agra, and seized several districts appropriated to the support of the royal household, the ameer al amra prevailed on Mahummud Shaw to send an army against them, under the command of his brother Muzzuffir Khan. The Mharattas, according to custom, would not engage him in the field, but hovered round, and distressed him by cutting off provisions. He

^a This was to express the disgrace that would attend the tribe, if the honour of the chief was not supported by it.

He marched as far as Seronje in the province of Malwa, where he halted for some months; during which the enemy kept him in constant alarm, by sham attacks, and destroying his supplies. At length the order of return was issued, for which he had impatiently waited; and on the twentieth of Mohirrim, 1147, he arrived at court, and was honoured with a tassel of jewels for the turban. Upon his reaching Dhely, the object of his hopes, in safety, he offered up oblations and charities to the poor, and his followers gave thanksgivings for the welfare of such an exalted nobleman. His friends uttered loud praises of the great conduct shewn in the campaign, and set forth his return in safety as a prodigy. In this year died prince Ali Tibbar, son of Azim Shaw. A. D. 1734.

During this year also, the ameer al amra and vizier marched against the Mharattas, but returned to court without effecting any thing of importance. The enemy continued their plunders and encroachments every where, with great cruelties.

Arraroo, a zemindar of Korah, taking advantage of the weakness of the empire, had put to death his governor Jaun Nissar Khan, brother to the vizier's wife, and seized his family and treasures; upon which Azim Oollah Khan was sent to chastise him, but the zemindar took refuge in his woods, and eluded his pursuer, who, tired out, returned to Dhely, leaving his army under the command of Khowauzim Beg Khan. Arraroo, emboldened by the navob's retreat, attacked and slew the deputy; upon which the vizier applied for assistance to Boorahan al Moolk Saaudut Khan, soubahdar of Oude, for the reduction of the rebel. Boorahan al Moolk possessed great generosity and valour, and in the year 1148 marched against Arraroo in his way to Dhely. Arraroo on his approach resolved to oppose him; and having one day intelligence from spies that Boorahan al Moolk had just alighted at his tent, and that he had on a green vest, and was also easily known from the

whiteness and length of his beard, the rebel rushed suddenly from ambush with his followers. Boorahan al Moolk remounted his elephant, and drew up his army as well as the suddenness of attack would allow. He had however changed his dress, and wore a white vest; so that Arraroo mistaking for him Aboo Terraub Khan, a principal chief, who was habited in green, and had a long white beard, levelled his attack at him, and charging close to his elephant with some resolute followers, wounded him mortally with a spear. This occasioned much disorder; but Boorahan al Moolk bravely attacked the rebel in turn, who was pointed out to him by Doorjun Sing, a relation of his own, in the navob's service. Doorjun Sing also engaged Arraroo personally, and after a sharp conflict put him to death, upon which the rebels fled in disorder. Boorahan, having offered up thanks to God for his victory, returned to his tents, and sent Arraroo's head to the emperor. The skin of the body was flayed off, and sent stuffed with straw to the vizier. Having remained some days to regulate the affairs of the province of Korah, he left the command to his son in law Suffder Jung, and pursued his route to court, where he was received with great honours.

Soon after this, Eaudgar Khan, a dependant of the ameer al amra, was dispatched with the sunnuds of the soubahdaries of Guzarat and Malwa to Bajeeraow, hoping to effect his submission to the empire, through the mediation of Raja Jey Sing. This year died navob Rooshun ad Dowlah Zuffir Khan.

About this time the soubahdary of the province of Patna was taken from Fukhir ad Dowlah, and conferred upon Shujah ad Dowlah, the navob of Bengal, in addition to that government, and of the province of Orissa.

Shujah

Shujah ad Dowlah was a native of Boorahanpore, and descended from the Turkish tribe of Afshar in Khorasfaun. During Aurungzebe's campaigns in Dekkan, he married the daughter of Jaffier Khan, foubahdar of Bengal, and accompanied his father in law to that province; but, not agreeing with her in disposition, he resided mostly at Cuttac, the capital of Orissa, of which he was governor. Shujah ad Dowlah was celebrated for his clemency, justice, and all good qualities. Zebe al Niffa, begum of Shujah ad Dowlah, from duty to her father and resentment at her husband's attachment to other women, remained with her son Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan at the capital of Moorshudabad, which was founded by her father, Jaffier Khan, and named after his original title of Moorshud Koollee Khan.

It was during the residence of Shujah ad Dowlah at Cuttac, that Aliverdi Khan, afterwards so famous as the usurper of Bengal, entered his service. His mother was distantly related to that nobleman. Her husband Mirza Mahummud was an officer in the service of the prince Azim Shaw, upon whose defeat and death, being greatly distressed, he was persuaded by his wife to seek the protection of her noble relation at Cuttac. Shujah ad Dowlah received him, with his two sons, Hajee Ahmed and Aliverdi, with kindness and favour among his dependants. Aliverdi, by his great qualities and important services, rose daily in the esteem of his patron; and Hajee Ahmed was also much distinguished. By degrees they became the chief managers of all the affairs of Shujah ad Dowlah; who, fond of pleasure, entrusted the province to their direction; nor was his confidence abused by the brothers.

As Jaffier Khan was much displeased at the conduct of his son in law, in his inconstancy to his wife, when he perceived himself advancing towards his end, he wished to be succeeded in the

government of the provinces by his grandson Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan at that time * imperial dewan. For this purpose he exerted all his influence at the court of Dhely. Shujah ad Dowlah, learning his intentions, consulted upon disappointing his measures with the brothers; and by their advice sent agents to court to bribe the ministers to his views. He also secretly dispatched numbers of his best troops, under pretence of dismissing them his service, to Moorshudabad, to form a party in his favour. The rainy season advancing, and marching by land being very difficult, he took care to provide sufficient boats for his army, that he might move on the instant of occasion.

Accordingly, when advice came that Jaffier Khan could not survive more than a few days, he began his march, leaving Mahummud Nukkee, his son by a concubine, in the direction of affairs at Cuttac. When somewhat advanced, he received the accounts of the navob's death, and a little farther on his march, the funnuds, appointing him soubahdar of Bengal from Dhely. He quickly arrived by forced marches at Moorshudabad, which he entered without opposition, and seating himself on the musnud, in the chehal settoon, or hall of forty pillars, commanded the royal grants to be read, and the officers of state to acknowledge him as navob. His son Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan, finding it in vain to struggle against the emperor's will and his father's power, was among the first to congratulate him upon his accession, and contented to remain in the office of dewan. Shujah ad Dowlah, having thus obtained his wishes, conducted the affairs of government with the advice of Aliverdi Khan, his brother Hajee Ahmed, Aulum Chund, his own dewan, now appointed roy royan, (who was among the Hindoos, truly worthy of confidence and power) and a few others, particularly Juggutt Seet Futteh Chund, whose wealth and credit as a merchant and banker exceeded millions, and

* Under the grant of this office the company now hold Bengal, &c.

and was never yet equalled by any. In the administration of justice he acted wholly from himself, and trusted to the representations of no one; but to the utmost of his abilities examined every case, and listened patiently to both parties, deciding agreeably to justice, without regard to rank or station. In the time of Jaffier Khan, the zemindars and renters had been oppressed with such grievances, as are too horrid to relate. Agreeably to the following verse of the poet Saadi; "Draw not thy precedents from evil institutions, "for men will curse thee, with those who invented them." Shujah ad Dowlah upon his accession summoned them before him, and demanded how they would behave, if he should free them from their troubles. They, who had suffered severely from the tyranny of Jaffier Khan, swore solemnly to be faithful to his person, and just in their payments, according to the settlements of Juggutt Seet. Shujah ad Dowlah then distinguished them by khelauts and favours according to their ranks, and dismissed them with joyful hearts to their several districts. Bengal, which is called the paradise of regions, truly merited the appellation during the administration of Shujah ad Dowlah; and persons of all ranks, living in ease and safety, were loud in his praises, reposing under the shade of his prosperity. Not long after his accession, the government of the province of Bahar was added to that of Bengal, the deputation of which he entrusted to Aliverdi Khan, for whom, on this occasion, he procured the rank of five thousand and title of Mahabut Jung. The favourite acquired new credit in his management of Bahar, the revenues of which had been embezzled and kept back by rebellious zemindars and military commanders; all of whom he either reduced or put to death.

To preserve the connection of history, it is proper to return to the affairs of the imperial court, before we enter further on those of Bengal and the navob Mahabut Jung, which shall be separately treated of.

The

A. H. 1149.
A. D. 1735.

The Mharattas, notwithstanding the appointment of Bajeeraow to the government of Malwa, and other favours shewn them by the emperor, still continuing their invasions, and advancing their armies nearer to the capital, the ameer al amra, Khan Dowraun, marched at length with a great army to the vicinity of Agra, and the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, with a powerful force towards Ajmere; but instead of acting on the offensive, wasted their time in idle negotiations for peace in standing camps, while the enemy plundered the country around them.

Boorahan al Moolk Saaudut Khan, foubahdar of Oude, possessed great courage and ability, and was anxious to acquire fame, by expelling the Mharattas and redeeming the disgrace of the empire. He marched from his capital, attended by his son in law Suffder Jung, to the assistance of his friend the raja of Buddawer, a district of the province of Agra, who was closely pressed by the enemy in his principal fortresses. He could not, however, arrive in time to relieve him. Raow Mulhar, a principal chief, after reducing the raja to his terms, crossed the Jumna, and wasted the country without mercy from Etawa to Mootee Baug, close to the city of Agra. At length, Boorahan al Moolk coming upon him by forced marches, defeated him with great slaughter. Three principal officers were taken prisoners, and Mulhar with great difficulty escaped. The fugitives in their panic mistaking the passage of the river Jumna, which they had forded, were drowned in great numbers; many were taken prisoners, and few regained the opposite shore. Mulhar with a few followers reached the camp of Bajeeraow, near Gualior. Boorahan al Moolk issued orders for each of his soldiers to prepare four days provisions, and leave his baggage in the camp, intending to pursue the enemy to their own province, and redeem the honour of Hindoostan, when he received orders from the ameer al amra to halt till he could join him with his forces, to act with more effect

effect against the invaders. He unwillingly obeyed the mandate. This gave time to Bajeceraow to recover the panic of Mulhar's defeat; and he resolved to march towards Dhely, at that time almost empty of troops for its defence. So rapid was his progress, that he reached, and burned part of the suburbs of the capital, before any intelligence of his movement had gained the city. The emperor and inhabitants were thrown into the utmost consternation and despair. They were not relieved till after three days, (during which the Mharattas committed great devastations in the suburbs) by the arrival of Boorahan al Moolk and the armies of the vizier and ameer al amra. The enemy then retreated into Malwa, but were not pursued; and the ministers, to the disgrace and irreparable loss of the empire, persuaded Mahummud Shaw to purchase an uncertain peace, by consenting to the choute, or payment of a fourth part of the revenues to the Mharattas. The emperor would have waited for the concurrence of Nizam al Moolk, whom he had ordered to court, but the vizier and ameer al amra, jealous of his interference, concluded the treaty before his arrival. Nizam al Moolk attempted to recover the province of Malwa from the Mharattas; but after marching and defeating Bajeceraow, was obliged to return for the defence of Dhely against the Persian emperor, Nadir Shaw, who was advancing rapidly towards it.

Sumfam ad Dowlah Khan Dowraun, ameer al amra, possessed unbounded influence over the mind of the emperor, so that he directed all affairs as he thought proper, however impolitic or unadvisable; an instance of which has been already displayed in the compromise with the Mharattas. With the same imprudence, he neglected furnishing the usual supplies of money to the soubahdar of Cabul, for keeping up the stations in the passes and highways on the confines of the empire in that province; to which cause may be in great measure attributed the invasion of Nadir Shaw, who would
never,

never, in all probability, have attempted his expedition, had he not heard of the defenceless state of the frontier. The grand cause of the Persian monarch's displeasure against Hindoostan, was the protection which the rebellious Afghans had received in the empire, after their defeat by his arms when regent of Persia, though he had sent an ambassador to Dhely, requesting Mahummud Shaw that they might not find refuge in his dominions. Nadir Shaw, on his accession to the throne of Persia, sent also an ambassador from himself; but no answer was given to his letters, nor the minister permitted to return to his master. During the siege of Candahar, Nadir dispatched a nobleman of high rank, named Mahummud Khan, to the court of Dhely, to repeat his request concerning the fugitive Afghans, and to express his disgust at the neglect shewn his embassies by the emperor of the Moguls. Mahummud Shaw and his ministers were at a loss what answer to return, and delayed the dismissal of the ambassador, in hopes that he might fail in the conquest of Candahar, and be obliged to retreat into Persia, when they would avoid the disgrace of acknowledging a usurper, as equal in rank with the sovereign of Hindoostan. These repeated flights, and the escape from his vengeance which the Afghans found in the provinces of Hindoostan, determined Nadir Shaw, upon the fall of Candahar, to invade the empire. Accordingly, after that event, he marched to Cabul, the capital of the province of that name, which he took with little opposition, and remained in the vicinity near seven months; during which time his troops were employed in destroying the unfortunate Afghans. It is probable he would not have advanced farther, had not a messenger and several horsemen, whom he had sent from Cabul to Dhely, been murdered on their route by the inhabitants of Jellalabad. Upon intelligence of this, he instantly marched against that city, slaughtered the people without mercy, and pursued his route to Peshawir, where Nasir Khan, the soubahdar of Cabul, resided, to whom

whom he sent a message, signifying that he should arrive on a certain day, when, if not opposed, he would spare the country, and receive him into favour. Nasir Khan, however, prepared for resistance, was defeated, and taken prisoner; but, after a few days' imprisonment, was reinstated in his government on the part of the Persian monarch. From Peshawir, Nadir Shaw proceeded to Lahore, the soubahdar of which, Zekariah Khan, after some little opposition in the field, took refuge in the capital, which he shortly after surrendered, and was invested with the command of it by the conqueror; who, leaving some of his troops with him to ensure his fidelity, marched towards Dhely.

Mahummud Shaw and his ministers had long pretended to despise the arms of the victorious Nadir, and to disbelieve the daily accounts received of his advance. He had indeed taken the field, but in the space of two months marched only four days' journey from Dhely to the plain of Karnal; and here the fate of the empire was decided. The imperial army encamped on the banks of the canal of Alimerdan Khan, which supplied the city of Dhely with water. Entrenchments were thrown up, and a numerous artillery linked together with maffy chains, was planted round the camp. Nadir Shaw, after the taking of Lahore, sent frequent messages to the Mogul camp, desiring the dismissal of his ambassadors, but was not obeyed; for what reason was never known. The ameer al amra placed great hopes in the valour of the Raajepootes; but neither Jey Sing, nor any of the great rajas, obeyed the summons to the royal standard on this occasion, sending idle excuses for their delay in their several districts. Great dread and confusion prevailed in the camp; and so bad was the intelligence of the approach of the invaders, that it was not known how far Nadir had advanced, till some wounded fugitives, from a foraging party, proclaimed to the affrighted Moguls the certainty of the Persians being within a few miles of their entrenchments. A general apprehension and alarm took place, and the emperor waited

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A. H. 1151.
A. D. 1739.

with the utmost anxiety for the arrival of Boorahan al Moolk Saadut Khan, the foubahdar of Oude, upon whose conduct and valour he had placed all his hopes of delivery, in the present important crisis of his empire. The wished for intelligence of his near approach at length arrived. On Tuesday the fifteenth of Zeekaud the ameer al amra went to meet Boorahan al Moolk, about a mile from the camp; and having brought him into the imperial presence, he was received with the highest distinction, and commanded to encamp near the division of the ameer al amra.

Boorahan al Moolk had just left the emperor, and repaired to his ground, when word was brought him that the Persians had attacked his baggage, and were committing great slaughter; upon which he immediately remounted his elephant, and sending intelligence of this event to the ameer al amra, with a request of his assistance, hastened against the enemy. The ameer al amra communicated the message to the emperor, who consulted Nizam al Moolk. He recommended that Boorahan al Moolk should be recalled within the entrenchments, as the day was far advanced, and his troops were fatigued with a long march, so that it would be most prudent to delay offering battle to the enemy till the morrow. Mahummud Shaw, approving this advice, communicated it to the ameer al amra; but he, attributing it to the neglect and indolence of the nizam, represented to the emperor, that as Boorahan al Moolk had advanced far from the lines, and was most probably already engaged with the enemy, not to assist him, and voluntarily to give up such a deserving nobleman to slaughter, would be against the dictates of policy, valour, and generosity; therefore, permitting others to act as they chose, he should hasten to support him. Having said this, he advanced from his camp with his light artillery, and such troops as were inclined to follow him. About a fourth part of the day remained, when he came within a short distance of Boorahan al Moolk. Nadir Shaw had
formed

formed his army in two divisions; one of which he left for the protection of his camp, and with the other advanced to the attack; subdividing it into three bodies. Two of these he detached to attack each of the ameers, and remained himself with the third, as a reserved line, to give assistance wherever it might be necessary. The Persians advanced with great fury, and in about half an hour the troops of Hindoostan were thrown into confusion with great slaughter. The ameer al amra was dangerously wounded, and most of his principal followers slain. His remaining attendants brought him back, almost dead with loss of blood, to the camp about nightfall; where, from a want of regularity and order, common in Hindoostan, his tents, baggage, and treasures had been wholly plundered by the soldiery and followers, on the supposition of his death; so that not a covering remained for his reception. At length his attendants procured a small tent, which they pitched for him. The vizier, nizam, and chief eunuchs of the emperor, came to condole with him on his situation, and learn the circumstances of his defeat. The dying minister, with a faint voice, said, "I have done my duty, and finished my course. The future must be attended to by you: but I earnestly advise, that the emperor may not visit Nadir Shaw, or let him enter Dhely; and that you turn back, by any means, this great calamity from this spot." Having said this, he became speechless, and continued so till he breathed his last, on the third day following.

Boorahan al Moolk, who had remained on the field of battle, being deprived of most of his troops by death, or flight, was at last quite surrounded by the Persians, and incapable of further resistance, when he was known by a young soldier, a native of the same city with himself, who calling to him by name, conjured him to save his own life by becoming his prisoner; at the same time running up to his elephant, and ascending the seat by the ropes of the ladder. Boorahan al Moolk gladly submitted himself

to the mercy of the enemy, who carried him before Nadir Shaw, and he was treated with great kindness and distinction.

For the three following days the Mogul camp presented a scene of confusion not to be described; but, what is extraordinary, it was not attacked by the Persians. Boorahan al Moolk, hearing reports of the death of the ameer al amra, and hoping to succeed him in office, had prevailed on Nadir Shaw to offer peace, and retreat from Hindoostan, on the payment of * two corores of rupees, and receiving a visit from the emperor. He accordingly communicated these conditions to the emperor and Nizam al Moolk, who were rejoiced beyond measure, being before overwhelmed with dread and irresolution. Mahummud Shaw sent the nizam without delay to the Persian camp, where he was received with great favour by Nadir Shaw, who ratified the treaty; and he returned exulting to his master. The happy tidings of peace spread through the camp, and gave new life to the disheartened troops; but their joy was but of short duration. Nizam al Moolk, ambitious of the dignity of ameer al amra, requested it in return for his services in the negotiation, and the emperor immediately conferred it upon him, unmindful of the offence it would give to Boorahan al Moolk. The next day Mahummud Shaw went to visit the Persian monarch, agreeably to his request, and was met near the camp by Nadir's son, Nuffer Oollah Mirza, who alighted from his horse upon seeing him; when the emperor was set down in his travelling throne, and they embraced each other. The prince then remounted, and conducted him to his father; who received Mahummud Shaw standing at the entrance of his tent, embraced him with kindness, and leading him to his musnud, seated him by him. After some conversation, and the usual ceremonies of presents and entertainments, Mahummud Shaw returned to his own camp, where his presence gave heartfelt joy and assurances that

* Two millions sterling.

that peace was fully concluded. Such indeed was the opinion of the emperor and all his subjects; and just would it have been, but for the selfish disloyalty of a disgusted minister.

Boorahan al Moolk, learning that the office of ameer al amra had been given to another, burned with envy and disappointment. In the fury of his passions he resolved to be revenged upon the emperor and his rival. He observed to Nadir Shaw, that two corores of rupees were too small a composition for the wealth of Hindoostan; that he, as an individual, could pay so much; and that the removal of Nizam al Moolk, who alone had any ability to resist his arms, would make the Persian monarch master of the empire without a blow, when he might march to Dhely, only eighty miles distant, and possess himself of the immense treasures of the imperial palace and the wealthy inhabitants of the capital. The avarice of Nadir was awakened by this treacherous remonstrance, and he again invited Nizam al Moolk to his presence; who, relying upon the faith of treaties, hastened without suspicion to his camp, where he was commanded to remain, and to prevail upon Mahummud Shaw by letter to make him another visit. The nizam now represented to Nadir, that his behaviour was contrary to treaty; to which the Persian replied, that he did not mean to depart from his agreement or injure the person or empire of Mahummud Shaw, but must have another interview. The nizam wrote information of this to his master; who, not knowing where to look for support in the absence of his minister, came to the camp of Nadir Shaw, attended only by a few of his favourite domestics, forbidding many of the nobility, who were anxious to guard his person, to follow him. Upon his arrival he was ordered by the Persian monarch to remain in a tent pitched for his reception, and to send for his family, equipage, and the officers of his household; which he did. At the same time orders were sent to the Mogul camp to break up, and the soldiers to retire where they chose without molestation; but the

the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, was summoned to the presence. Boorahan al Moolk, and Thamasp Khan, a confidential nobleman of Nadir Shaw, were dispatched in front to Dhely, to receive the keys of that capital and the imperial palaces from the governor; after which the conqueror, with his royal captive, proceeded by easy marches to that city. The utmost dread and confusion prevailed in the Mogul army after the departure of Mahummud Shaw. Individuals consulted their own safety by flight, but were plundered or killed; many by the Persian marauders, and others by the husbandmen of the country, who, in time of trouble in Hindoostan, generally assume the occupation of robbery.

On the eighth of March, Nadir Shaw reached the gardens of Shalemar, and permitted Mahummud Shaw to proceed to his palace in the citadel of Dhely, with his family and domesticks. On the ninth the conqueror made a triumphant entry into the city with his army, which was encamped on the beach of the Jumna, under the palace; but Nadir Shaw took up his residence within it; the grand hall of audience, and several other apartments, being prepared for his reception. Coins had been struck at the imperial mint for this occasion, which were distributed to the people in the cavalcade, bearing this inscription in verse;

“ King over the kings of the world

“ Is Nadir, king of kings, and lord of periods.”

On the tenth died Boorahan al Moolk, of a cancer in his back, with which he had been long afflicted. It was reported, that he poisoned himself, from the pangs of conscience at his being the adviser of Nadir's advancing to Dhely; but the rumour was not true.

The

The strictest discipline had been observed by the Persians, and no person suffered from the victors the slightest outrage; when, on the night of the tenth, a fatal tumult arose, which involved the inhabitants of Dhely in ruin. It was suddenly rumoured, that Nadir Shaw was dead; by some, naturally, and by others, that he had been assassinated by a Calmuck woman in the haram, at the instigation of Mahummud Shaw. The Dhellians too easily credited what they wished to be true. They flew to arms, and massacred every Persian they met in the city; which, during the night, was a scene of confusion and horror. The nobles of Hindoostan, instead of attempting to quell the madness of the people, by proclaiming that Nadir was still alive and secure in the palace, which was garrisoned by his troops, remained inactive; and at some of their houses, the Persians, who resided in them to protect their properties, were treacherously murdered. Nadir Shaw, at the commencement of the tumult, sent out some officers to persuade the people of their error; but instead of being listened to, they were slaughtered. Seeing it in vain to moderate their fury, and not chusing to hazard his troops in the darkness of night and the close streets of the city, he resolved to let the storm spend itself, and wait for morning to take vengeance on its authors. About a thousand Persians were slain.

Early the next morning, Nadir Shaw issued from the palace, attended by his troops, and took post at the college of Rooshun ad Dowlah, situated in a principal street. From hence he dispatched bands of soldiers, commanding them to slaughter, without distinction of age or sex, the wretched inhabitants of Dhely, in every avenue where they might find a murdered Persian. His orders were obeyed with a savage readiness. The carnage lasted from sun-rise till mid-day. About eight thousand Indians, Moguls, and Afghauns, were massacred, and their houses plundered, by the Persians. To add to the horror of the scene, fires broke out in

in several parts of the city. At twelve o'clock, Kummir ad Dien Khan prevailed on the conqueror to stop the massacre, when it ceased at once; so exact was the discipline of Nadir Shaw.

It is impossible to describe the misery of Dhely, during this and several following days, when the streets streamed with human blood, and the bodies of the dead obstructed the passages. These were at length piled together in heaps, without distinction of rank or religion, and burned in the rubbish of the ruined houses. Several noblemen were put to death by Nadir Shaw, for being accessory to the murder of Persians during the tumult, and among them a son in law of the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan.

On the fourteenth, Nissar Mahummud Khan was dispatched to Oude, to demand from Suffder Jung the two corores of rupees, which had been promised by Boorahan al Moolk from his province. Nadir Shaw this day began his seizure of the imperial effects and treasure. * Three corores and fifty lacs were found in the treasury. ^b A corore and fifty lacs in plate; ^c fifteen corores in jewels; the celebrated peacock throne, valued at ^d one corore; and several other thrones of rich though smaller value, with the armory, estimated at ^e eleven corores, were seized for his use; also five hundred elephants, a great number of horses, and the superb camp equipage of the emperor.

On the fifteenth, a treaty of peace was drawn up, stipulating, that the provinces eastward of the Sind should remain to the emperor

- * Three millions, five hundred thousand pounds sterling.
- ^b One million five hundred thousand pounds.
- ^c Fifteen millions sterling.
- ^d One million sterling.
- ^e Eleven millions sterling.

emperor of Hindoostan, and those west of it be ceded to the crown of Persia. Thus, Cabul, Tatta, and part of Multaun, were wrested from the empire. Nuffer Oollah Mirza, Nadir's son, was betrothed to the daughter of Yezdaun Buksh, son of prince Moraud, the son of the emperor Shaw Jahaun.

On the sixteenth, Jogul Kishoor, vaqueel of Bengal, was severely beaten with sticks, for not expediting the collection of the fine imposed on the city.

On the seventeenth, Nadir demanded from the vizier * two corores and twelve lacks of rupees; when the latter pleading inability, he commanded his dewan, Mujilifs Ram, to give in an account of the property of his master and of his own, threatening him with death if he should be guilty of concealment. Three daughters and seven ladies were seized from the haram of Muz-zuffir Khan, son in law to the vizier, and forced into the seraglio of Nadir Shaw.

On the eighteenth, a contribution was demanded from the nobles and servants of the court, bankers, merchants, and artizans, which was levied with the utmost severity. Nizam al Moolk, the vizier, Sirbullund Khan, and other noblemen, were ordered to collect two corores and twelve lacks from the citizens, and pay it into the treasury in ten days, on pain of Nadir's displeasure.

On the nineteenth, the collectors of the fine began their exactions. Many persons put themselves to death to avoid punishment, their property being over-rated in the assessment. Among these were many officers of rank.

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* Two millions and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

On the twentieth, Nadir Shaw sent nine Persian horses, with seventy five trays of gold and silver brocade and scarlet cloth to Mahummud Shaw, and ordered Saad ad Dien Khan, meer atush, to put his own guards as before over the haram and offices of the emperor.

On the twenty first, Lootff Ali Khan, topjee basha, or commander of artillery, by orders of Nadir Shaw, with twelve thousand men, marched out of the city, escorting the invaluable plunder of the capital to the gardens of Shalimar. On the twenty second Nadir Shaw's equipage, among which were all the magnificent tents taken from the palace, was pitched on the banks of the Jumna, before the Lahore gate, and a thousand Persians of rank, who had taken up their quarters in the palaces of Khan Dowraun, Saadulla Khan, &c. marched to Shalimar. Centinels were placed at the gates of the city, to prevent the Persians from carrying away any Hindoostan women. A type of the last day afflicted the inhabitants of this once happy city, from the cruelties of the collectors of the fine. It was, before, a general massacre; but now, the murder of individuals. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Buffunt Roy, agent of the pensions, killed his family and himself. Khalik Ear Khan stabbed himself. Many took poison. The *venerable Cauzee al Kuzzaat was disgraced by stripes.

In the same manner all the servants of the crown, the merchants, bankers, and all suspected of having money, were harshly treated; and many, to avoid torment, courted death by their own hands. Sleep and rest forsook the city. On the twenty third, additions were made double and treble to the demands from the unfortunate officers of the court, and they were beaten and abused without mercy. Fojedaur Khan, governor of the environs of the city,

* Chief judge.

city, from whom four lacks of rupees were demanded, of which he had paid one, escaped from his guards, and arrived at his fort of Ferokhnuggur, twenty five coss distant; where he continued, though Nadir Shaw invited him back by solemn promises. He pleaded old age and inability. The Jauts, under Buddun Sing, rose in arms in the vicinity of the city, and attacked the foraging parties of the Persians.

On the twenty fourth, a fire broke out in the imperial ^a fersh khaneh, and destroyed effects amounting to a corore of rupees. Nadir Shaw now only waited for the payment of the fine, and the arrival of Nissar Mahummud Khan; after which he resolved to march immediately, and replace Mahummud Shaw on his throne.

At this time, abounding in disasters and calamity, the capital of the empire was become, from her various miseries and troubles, an emblem of the day of universal dissolution. First, from the general massacre, and the plunders and excesses of the Persian army, the conflagration, and other events, the inhabitants of all ranks were so alarmed, that like the affrighted animals of the desert, they sought refuge in the most private and concealed corners from further insult. Secondly, from the great scarcity of grain, ^b two seer of coarse rice were sold for a ^c rupee, and other necessaries in proportion. Thirdly, from a pestilential disorder; no morning passed that whole crowds in every street and lane did not die. Fourthly, from the exactions which occasioned a deliberate massacre. Unprincipled and unfeeling wretches, ever ready to use occasion, took the various quarters of the city in farm for the collection of the fine, at the original valuation. In place of ten, they extorted thirty and forty thousand rupees. The first sum was paid to the

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treasury,

^a Repository of tents, carpets, canopies, cushions, beds, &c.

^b About four pounds weight.

^c Two shillings and threepence nearly.

treasury, and the rest embezzled by these infernal wretches. It is probable, four or five corores were thus extorted from the miserable citizens, who, from the roads being blocked up, had not power to fly from these dreadful calamities, nor a hope of assistance. Danushmund Khan, one of the most learned men in Persia, and first physician to the conqueror, who had been before this, at the request of Boorahan al Moolk, honoured with the rank of three thousand, and now officiated as ambassador between the emperors; was, at the desire of Nadir Shaw, promoted to the rank of seven thousand and office of * khanfamaun to Mahummud Shaw.

On the thirty first, Mahummud Ghazee ad Dien Khan, son of Nizam al Moolk, brought Meer Nizam ad Dien, fojedaur of the environs of the city, who had fled to Ferokhnuggur, to an interview with Nadir Shaw, to whom he presented an offering of a lack and fifty thousand rupees. He was graciously received, reestablished in his office, commanded to bring in supplies of grain, and invite the people to the deserted villages. The same day, at the request of Nizam al Moolk, orders were given by Nadir Shaw to his chief secretary to prepare edicts to the governors of the different provinces and the chiefs of Dekkan, commanding them to obey Mahummud Shaw. Fifteen were accordingly written, and committed to Nizam al Moolk.

On the first of April, Raja Mujilifs Ram, dewan to the vizier, having paid four lacks of rupees, stabbed himself to avoid the tortures ordered to be inflicted upon him to extort an additional sum. Roy Khoosha Chund and his son did the same. Seetaram, farmer of some royal lands and treasurer to the vizier, also eight or ten principal officers, after having given ten, eight, six, and four lacks of rupees, on more being demanded, made their escape from the city. Jogul Kishoor, Nagir Mul, Saadoolla Khan, and other principal vaqueels,

* Steward of the household.

vaqueels, were beaten almost to death to extort money from them. People of all ranks deserted the city in crowds.

On the third, Nadir Shaw ordered a seizure of the effects of many capital merchants, who had not paid the sums demanded from them; in consequence of which rich goods were sold for a fourth and fifth part of their value.

On the fifth, Nadir Shaw's seals were taken off the imperial store-rooms and repositories, and those of Mahummud Shaw and Danushmund Khan affixed in their room. The same day firmauns were sent from Nadir Shaw to Raja Jey Sing, Raja Abee Sing, Juggut Sing, and other rajas of Hindoostan; also to Raja Sahoo, Bajeeeraow, and other Dekkan chiefs, with these contents:

“ Between us and our dear brother Mahummud Shaw, in con-
“ fideration of the regard and alliances of the two sovereignties, the
“ connections of regard and friendship have been renewed; so that
“ we may be esteemed as one soul in two bodies. Now our dear
“ brother has been replaced on the throne of this extensive em-
“ pire, and we are moving to the conquest of other regions, it is
“ incumbent that ye, like your forefathers in former times, walk
“ in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother, as
“ they did to former sovereigns of the house of Timur. God
“ forbid it, but if accounts of your rebelling should reach our ears,
“ we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation.”

On the seventh of April, Nadir Shaw sent some valuable jewels, a firpeach, and bracelets, to Mahummud Shaw, with a message, that his march was fixed for the seventeenth of the month, and desiring, that on the morrow he would visit him, attended by the nobility with all the insignia of royalty, that he might give him some valuable advice, and take his leave. Accordingly, the next morning,

morning, being the eighth of April, Mahummud Shaw, with imperial pomp, attended by the court, on a travelling throne came out at the gate of the lion tower, and proceeded to the grand hall of audience, at the steps of which Nadir Shaw received him, and led him to a throne, after which all persons retired. The two monarchs remained in private for near an hour. Nizam al Moolk, the vizier, and other great lords, were then admitted; to whom Nadir Shaw spoke nearly an hour, in terms of advice mingled with threats. Viands were then distributed, and dresses conferred upon them. Nadir Shaw presented jewels for a turban, with a sword set with jewels, to Mahummud Shaw, who then took leave, and retired to the lion tower in the same state as before.

On the eleventh, all the Persians quitted the city, except the body guards of Nadir Shaw, and encamped near Shalimar. The same evening Nuffier Oollah Mirza took leave of Mahummud Shaw. The soubah of Multaun and four mahals of Yemneenabad were, at Nadir Shaw's request, granted to Zekariah Khan, in room of the deceased Abd al Summud Khan, in addition to the government of Punjaab.

On the fourteenth, Nadir Shaw began his retreat from Dhely, and proceeded by regular marches to his own empire: but as the events of his route but little concern the history of Hindoostan, they are not related in these pages. It is wonderful, but true, that the inhabitants of Dhely, at least the debauched, who were by far the more numerous part, regretted the departure of the Persians; and to this day, the excesses of their soldiery are topics of humour in the looser conversation of all ranks, and form the comic parts of the drolls or players. The people of Hindoostan at this time regarded only personal safety and personal gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centered wholly in himself, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public
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and private virtue, was universal in Hindoostan at the invasion of Nadir Shaw; nor have the people become more virtuous since, consequently, not more happy, nor more independant.

Upon the retreat of Nadir Shaw, the emperor made some changes among the great officers of state, and advanced two noblemen, who had shewn much attachment and fidelity to his person during the late troubles, to high rank. One of these was Ameer Khan, son of the principal favourite of the emperor Aurungzebe, of the same name, and the other Izaac Khan, of a middle rank about the court. Mahummud Shaw, jealous of the power of the Tooraun nobles, wished to remove the vizier Kummir ad Dien Khan from office. Ameer Khan was pitched upon to succeed him; but the emperor was fearful of executing his resolution till the return of Nizam al Moolk to Dekkan, as he was nearly related to the vizier, whose interest he espoused. This event at length occurred; the nizam being necessitated to repair to his government, where his son Nasir Jung had begun to assume independance. With this design, he had taken leave of the emperor, and pitched his encampment near the city, having obtained the deputation of his office of ameer al amra for his son Ghazee ad Dien Khan, who was also son in law to the vizier. Mahummud Shaw now privately bestowed the inkstand of the vizarut on Ameer Khan, who imprudently boasted of the honour he had received. Kummir ad Dien Khan hearing of this, advised with the nizam how to act, who recommended him to beg his dismissal from court, and accompany him to Dekkan. He accordingly repaired to the nizam's camp, from whence he dispatched a petition, observing to his majesty, that as he found a change towards him in the royal behaviour, from the arts of interested persons, though he had been guilty willingly of no crime, he begged permission to retire to Dekkan and resign his office. Mahummud Shaw, alarmed at the departure of the vizier, (for he possessed not steadiness

ness of resolution,) consulted with Ameer Khan and Izaac Khan what answer to return. The former advised compliance with the request, assuring him, that if he was appointed vizier, he would take such measures as should secure his majesty from suffering from the resentment of the discarded minister. The emperor was silent, and dismissed Ameer Khan; after whose departure he conjured Izaac Khan by his own head to speak his real sentiments. Izaac Khan, patronized by Ameer Khan, and joined with him in the late consultations, was at a loss; which the emperor observing, again entreated him more earnestly. Upon this he replied, that if he should recommend measures contrary to those of Ameer Khan, he should forfeit his word, and if he advised the same, he should be inimical to his majesty's welfare; therefore begged to be silent; but Mahummud Shaw repeated his requests. He then observed, that though Ameer Khan was of high rank, and the son of a nobleman of still higher, and possessed courage and much wit, yet from the looseness of his manners, he could not command proper respect in the important office of vizier; that his dependants, among whom was himself, by his patronage recommended to his majesty, and raised to distinctions, were as yet esteemed only by the great rajas of Hindoostan as ordinary persons to whom they would not submit as superiors: that, on the contrary, they regarded with veneration the nizam and vizier, and esteemed their service honourable to themselves; therefore, it would not be adviseable to remove such personages, for those like Ameer Khan and himself. The emperor, upon this, sought to conciliate the vizier, and communicated his intentions to Ameer Khan; who immediately hastened to the nizam, offering concessions to him and the vizier. It was agreed, that he should for the present, as a proof of his sincerity in relinquishing his designs against the vizier, retire to his government of Aleabad; which he did immediately. The vizier returned to court, where harmony was again established, and Izaac Khan became equally the favourite of
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of the minister, as of Mahummud Shaw. Boorahan al Moolk was succeeded in the government of Oude by his son in law Suffder Jung; Zekariah Khan was continued soubahdar of Lahore; and Shujah ad Dowlah, navob of Bengal, was succeeded by his son Allah ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan; who being shortly after defeated and slain by Aliverdi Khan, the governor of Patna, the usurper seized the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and was confirmed in them by the imperial grants, for a large peshcush and a promise of remitting the royal revenues to the treasury. Nizam al Moolk returned to Dekkan, which had fallen into disorder, from the disaffection of the provinces during the invasion of Nadir Shaw, and the precipitate conduct of his son Nasir Jung.

Upon the departure of Ameer Khan to Aleabad, Izaac Khan enjoyed the greatest share of the emperor's confidence; and as he did not aspire to the more important offices of state, the vizier was not jealous of the favours conferred upon him: but Izaac Khan did not long survive his exaltation. Mahummud Shaw was truly afflicted at his loss, and continued his affection for the father to his children, but particularly to the eldest son, Meerza Mahummud, often saying, that had he not him to supply the place of the deceased, he should have died of grief for his loss.

This year the emperor summoned to court Ameer Khan from Aleabad, Suffder Jung, soubahdar of Oude, Zekariah Khan, nizam of Lahore and Multaun; also the rajas Bukht Sing Rhatoree and Jey Sing. A mandate was likewise dispatched to Nizam al Moolk; but he pleaded in excuse for his disobedience, his great age, though in fact he was at the time employed in securing the government of Dekkan to his family. Raja Jey Sing died this year, and three of his wives with many concubines burned themselves on his funeral pile. Ameer Khan and Suffder Jung, on their arrival at court, were received with the greatest marks of the royal favour. This

A. H. 1156.

A. D. 1743.

year the emperor's only son, prince Ahmed, was married to a daughter of the lineal descendant of Mahabut Khan, so celebrated in the reign of ^a Jahaungeer. The soubahdary of Guzarat was conferred on Fukhir ad Dowlah; but, after a feeble attempt to recover it from the Mharattas, he returned to Dhely.

A. H. 1157. Suffder Jung was hononoured with the post of meer atush, or
A. D. 1744. command of the artillery, and the government of Kashmeer.

A. H. 1158. This year the emperor, at the request of Suffder Jung, march-
A. D. 1745. ed to reduce ^b Ali Mahummud Khan, a Rohilla adventurer, who had from the negligence of government possessed himself of the districts of ^c Kutteer, and assumed independance of the royal authority. He was besieged in a fortrefs called Bangur, and being taken prisoner, was committed to the care of the vizier; after which the royal army returned to Dhely. Zekariah Khan dying, the soubahdary of Lahore was conferred on the vizier, who appointed two sons of the deceased his deputies; but the brothers quarrelling with each other, the eldest obtained superiority in the contest, and was confirmed in the government of the province, with the title of Shaw-nowauz Khan.

A. H. 1159. This year was distinguished by no other remarkable events,
A. D. 1746. than the death of Ameer Khan, and the marriage of Shujah ad Dowlah, son of Suffder Jung, to the daughter of the late Izaac Khan,

^a Mahabut Khan seized that emperor's person, and for some time controuled the royal authority; but was obliged to retire by the intrigues of the empress Noor Jhaun.

^b The founder of the Rohilla government, in the end overthrown by Shujah ad Dowlah with the assistance of the English, for having neglected to fulfil the terms of a treaty made with him, when defended by his arms from the invasions of the Mharattas.

^c Now called, from the residence of the Rohillas, Rohilkund. It is in possession of the navob vizier.

Khan, the emperor's favourite. These nuptials were celebrated with uncommon splendour. Among the presents made to the bride, were one thousand silver cups, each weighing ^a one hundred rupees.

Ameer Khan had since his last arrival at court conducted the whole administration; the vizier being incapable of attending the durbar, from a hurt occasioned by a fall from a terrace, and contentedly allowing his rival to exercise the influence of his office in his name, while he enjoyed security and repose. Suffder Jung, the only one of the nobility able to oppose him, was his friend; so that he had no competitor for the royal favour. He was naturally free of speech, and the emperor, fond of his repartee, had allowed him more license in conversation than was consistent with respect to his own dignity. As he acquired power in the state, this freedom grew to importunity, when he was on business with the emperor; which by degrees disgusted Mahummud Shaw, and made him wish his removal from office. The royal jealousy was also excited by Ameer Khan's paying a visit to the princes of the blood confined in the citadel of Seleemgur. The emperor, however, fearing his power, did not openly shew any change towards him. At length, Ameer Khan one day pressing some request, which his majesty did not chuse to grant, he desired him to be silent, and he would hear him on the subject another day. The minister persisted, and was three times mildly put off, but still continued his importunity. At length, Roze Afzoon Khan, a eunuch, ^b nazir of the haram, rebuked him in harsh terms for his disrespect to his sovereign; upon which Ameer Khan, highly enraged, exclaimed, "What privilege
" has a slave to interrupt the conversation of a nobleman?" The eunuch replied, "If I am a slave, I am the slave of his majesty
" alone, and not of others." The minister, inflamed with passion, now addressed the emperor, saying, if the eunuch was not removed,

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^a Twelve pounds sterling.

^b The nazir has the sole direction of the seraglio.

he would no longer attend the court; and demanded the disposal of his office of nazir to one of his own servants. The emperor consented for the present, and the minister retired; but Mahummud Shaw, on consideration, was alarmed for his own safety, should Ameer Khan persist in claiming possession of the nuzzarut. The eunuch advised the assassination of the minister, and undertook to effect it, without delay. The emperor assented. A person who had been discharged from the service of Ameer Khan, was applied to by the eunuch, and agreed to perpetrate the murder. A day or two afterwards the minister attended the durbar, to receive the investiture of the nuzzarut, bringing with him Aggah Khan, a favourite eunuch, to be appointed his deputy in its immediate exercise. The assassin was placed in the passage leading to the chamber of private audience, and coming behind him just as he had reached the door, stabbed him with a dagger so effectually, that the unfortunate Ameer Khan fell down dead on the instant. His corpse was thrown into a palanquin and carried to his own house, where the imperial officers had been already sent to seize his effects; but were resisted by the military followers of the deceased, under pretence that great arrears of pay were due to them, satisfaction for which they demanded, before they would relinquish the personal estate; nor would they suffer the body to be buried. After four days, Suffder Jung pledging himself for the payment of their demands, if they would give up the corpse for interment, by this time in a state of putrefaction, they consented; keeping, however, the nearest relations of the deceased in their hands, as a security for the performance of his promise. After the funeral, the effects were sold to satisfy the troops, and the emperor obtained possession of the jewels and armoury for a ^alack of rupees, which were worth ^bfifty lacks, if not a greater sum. The jaghire of the deceased was given to the daughter of the emperor, and put under the direction of Nudjum ad Dowlah, son to the late Izaac Khan.

This

^a Twelve thousand pounds.

^b Five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

This year was distinguished by the invasion of Ahmed Abdallee, A. H. 1161. and the death of the emperor Mahummud Shaw. Ahmed was the A. D. 1747. son of a chief of the Afghaun tribe of Abdal, in the vicinity of the city of Heraut, and was taken prisoner in his infancy by Nadir Shaw, who gave him the post of a * yessawul, and by degrees promoted him to a considerable command in his army. Upon the assassination of that monarch, he had the good fortune to possess himself of a considerable treasure, with which he retired to his native country, and assumed the honours of royalty over the Afghauns of his tribe. He then marched against the fortress of Candahar, which submitted to his arms; and prevailed upon Nafir Khan, the soubahdar of Cabul, to acknowledge his authority, permitting him to continue in office on promising to pay down five lacks of rupees. Nafir Khan would have performed his agreement, but the chief inhabitants of the province refusing to contribute the sum, and persuading him to resist, he withdrew his allegiance; upon which Ahmed Abdallee marched against him. On his approach the people of Cabul deserted their governor, and Nafir Khan retired to the city of Peshawir, where he held out for some time; but fearful of falling into the hands of Abdal Shaw, as his provisions were exhausted, and he had no hopes of a supply, he made his escape towards Dhely, leaving his family and effects behind him, which, with the fortress, fell into the hands of the besiegers, two days after his departure. During this siege, Shawnowauz Khan, soubahdar of Lahore, offered to join the fortunes of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, on condition of being appointed his vizier, and his proposal was accepted; but, at the remonstrance of his uncle Kummir ad Dien Khan, vizier to the emperor Mahummud Shaw, he repented of his treachery; and when Ahmed Abdallee, on the fall of Peshawir, claimed performance of his engagement, he declined it. The shaw, being enraged, marched against Lahore, which fell into his hands after a short resistance.

Shaw-

* Mace-bearer.

Shaw-nowauz Khan made his escape, with a few attendants, to Dhely. Emboldened by this success, and the weakness of the empire, Ahmed Shaw resolved to attempt the conquest of the capital of Hindoostan; and in the beginning of this year began his march from Lahore. Mahummud Shaw, being at this time too much indisposed to take the field, dispatched his only son, prince Ahmed, against the enemy, under the conduct of the vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan, Suffder Jung, foubahdar of Oude, Eesuree Sing, raja of Jeypore, and several other chiefs, with a great army. They advanced to the banks of the Suttulludge without meeting the enemy, who had artfully passed them and plundered the rich city of Sirhind, where the heavy baggage of the prince was deposited. Upon intelligence of this misfortune the prince returned, and upon his arrival near the enemy threw up entrenchments round his camp. The Afghaun shaw did the same; and for some days several skirmishes took place between the two armies. At length, Kummir ad Dien Khan, the vizier, being killed as he was at his devotions in his tent by a cannon ball, a panic prevailed in the Mogul army, and Eesuree Sing with his Raajepootes fled from the field. Meer Munnoo, the vizier's son, and Suffder Jung, however, disdained to fly, and by their address restored order in the camp. The next day, a magazine of rockets taking fire in the enemy's camp, numbers of the troops were wounded by the explosion; and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, either disheartened by this loss, or satisfied by the plunder gained at Sirhind, thought proper to retreat towards Cabul, which he did unmolested. Mahummud Shaw being near his end, upon intelligence of the enemy's defeat, commanded the prince to return to Dhely, having first conferred the government of Lahore on Meer Munnoo, as a reward for his services. Before the royal army reached Dhely the emperor expired, aged forty eight years and some months, in the thirty first year of his reign. His death was concealed for some days, till the arrival of the prince; who on the first of Jemmaud al Awul was saluted emperor in the garden of Shalimar;

Shalimar, and on Friday, the twelfth of the same month, went in royal pomp to the great mosque, where the khootbah was read, and coins were struck in his name. Mahummud Shaw was buried in the college of Nizam ad Dien, in a sepulchre he had erected on purpose.

Mahummud Shaw was not destitute of abilities and judgment, but had an indolence of disposition too blameable in a sovereign; on which account he was overruled by his ministers, and governed by his domestic servants. He was unable to restore the empire from the decline it had suffered during the reign of Ferokhsere; and being very young at his accession, and addicted to pleasure, he neglected publick business; so that disorder encreased. After the invasion of Nadir Shaw he became dispirited, and gave himself up to devotion and the society of religious men. He was averse from oppression and shedding of blood, and the people from him suffered no wrong. While he lived, the royal name was respectable; and by his prudence he sustained the tottering pillars of the state from falling into total ruin, but could not repair the unwieldy fabric.

Kummir ad Dien Khan, vizier, though neglectful of business, and much addicted to women and wine, yet was so merciful and generous, that the inhabitants of Dhely still remember him with gratitude and affection, notwithstanding his incapacity for his important station.

AHMED

AHMED SHAW.

AHMED Shaw on his accession offered the vizarut to Nizam al Moolk; who excused himself from accepting it, on account of his great age, being in his hundred and fourth year; nor did he long survive this refusal, dying about a month afterwards in the vicinity of Boorahanpore, the capital of Khandeshe. He had governed the Mogul provinces of Dekkan for thirty years, as an independant prince, except in name, with great ability and success. He left behind him six sons, and was succeeded in Dekkan by the second, Meer Ahmed Nafir Jung; the eldest, Ghazee ad Dien, residing at Dhely, in the office of ameer al amra. Nizam al Moolk is much venerated in Hindoostan for his wisdom, policy, generosity, and learning. An account of his life would form a volume, which may one day be presented to the public.

Immediately upon the death of the nizam the vizarut was bestowed on Suffder Jung, who assumed the whole administration of the imperial authority; Ahmed Shaw, contrary to the hopes which had been formed of him, giving himself up to pleasure, and paying no attention to the affairs of government. Suffder Jung's first measure in office, was to attempt the expulsion of the Rohillas from Kutteer, bordering on his province of Oude. He for this purpose instigated Kaium Jung, the navob of Ferokhabad, to declare war against them, Ali Mahummud their chief being just dead, and the country in an unsettled state, owing to the minority of

of his sons and the ambitious disputes of their guardians. Kaium Jung complied with the wishes of the vizier, but was defeated and slain by the Rohillas.

Disappointed in the conquest of Kutteer, Suffder Jung resolved to reap advantage from the death of the deluded Kaium Jung. He persuaded the emperor to march towards Ferokhabad, and confiscate his estates. The widow, children, and mother of the navob, unable to resist, submitted to his authority and gave up their treasures. The principal servants of the deceased were sent prisoners to Aleabad; but his mother was allowed to keep the city of Ferokhabad and twelve small districts, for the support of the family, as they had been conferred on it in perpetuity by the emperor Ferokhsere. The conquered country was committed to the care of the vizier's deputy, Raja Nowil Roy. This year, Ahmed Abdallee advanced again as far as Lahore; but being gallantly resisted by Meer Munnoo, he thought proper to retreat, on his agreeing to pay him the revenues of four districts in that province.

A. H. 1162.

A. D. 1749.

The vizier was scarcely returned to Dhely, when Ahmed Khan, a brother of the late Kaium Jung, collected an army of Afghauns, and recovered the territories lately seized from his family, by defeating Raja Nowil Roy, who was slain in the action. The vizier was on his march to assist his deputy, when he received accounts of his death, and pressed on to revenge it; but the fortune of Ahmed Khan prevailed. He, in a general action, defeated the vizier, who fled to Dhely, trembling for the safety of his province of Oude, now exposed to the resentment of the enemy.

A. H. 1163.

A. D. 1750.

Ahmed Khan immediately after his victory marched to Aleabad, which fortress he besieged, and dispatched his son Mhamood Khan to seize the city of Lucnow. The vizier summoned an army of Mharattas to his assistance, with which, in two months after his

loss, he moved from Dhely, recovered his own dominions from the enemy, and obliged Ahmed Khan, with his allies the other Rohillas, to take shelter in the hills. Upon his submission, Ahmed Khan was reinstated in the possession of Ferokhabad and a country producing a revenue of sixteen lacks of rupees; the rest of the territories possessed by the late Kaium Jung being divided between the vizier and the Mharattas. The other Rohillas purchased their pardon by the payment of a large contribution. This year was also distinguished by an attempt to recover the soubahdary of Ajmere from the Raajepootes, who had assumed independance; but the imperial general was defeated, and returned in disgrace to Dhely. The vizier, after his victory, employed himself in resettling his wasted provinces.

A. H. 1164.
A. D. 1751.

This year was distinguished by the death of Nasir Jung, second son and successor to Nizam al Moolk in Dekkan, by a conspiracy of his own servants, assisted by the French, who surprized his camp while he was engaged in quelling a rebellion raised by his nephew Muzzuffir Jung, who was taken prisoner; but on the death of his uncle was placed on the musnud of Dekkan by the conspirators. This young prince did not long enjoy his dignity, but was assassinated almost immediately after his accession, by the same persons who had raised him to power; when Sullabut Jung, third son of the old nizam, was placed on the musnud by the French, and Raja Ragonaut, dewan to Muzzuffir Jung. Mr. Buffy was created a noble of the empire, and the northern firkaurs granted in jaghire to his nation.*

A. H. 1165.
A. D. 1751-2.

This year Ahmed Shaw Abdallee again advanced as far as Lahore, and was opposed for four months by Meer Munnoo; who, however, losing two of his principal generals, and his troops being dispirited, was obliged to submit. He was received into favour by

* For a detail of these events, see Mr. Orme's elegant history.

by the conqueror, who appointed him governor of Lahore and Multaun under his authority; and thus were these two valuable provinces torn from their dependance on the descendants of Timur. Ahmed Abdallee, during his stay at Lahore, sent an ambassador to Dhely, demanding concessions from the emperor; who, much alarmed, recalled Suffder Jung to court. The vizier obeyed the summons, and repaired to Dhely, with his own army, and his auxiliary Mharattas; but Jaweed Khan, the favourite eunuch, before his arrival had persuaded the emperor to purchase peace by complying with the demands of the Abdallee monarch, who retreated from Lahore to his own dominions. The vizier, offended at this measure, declined appearing at court, encamped in the neighbourhood of Dhely, and informed the emperor that he must devise some means of paying the Mharattas, whom he had brought to his assistance on the promise of a large sum of money. At this period, fortunately for Ahmed Shaw, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, eldest son of the late nizam, esteeming the death of his brother Nafir Jung, favourable to his claims on the government of Dekkan, offered to pay the demands of the Mharattas, if the emperor would grant him the soubahdary of that country. Ahmed Shaw readily complied, and Ghazee ad Dien Khan prevailed on the Mharatta chiefs to accompany him to Dekkan, by payment of a large sum of money in hand, and promises of greater favours when he should arrive at his government.

The vizier, Suffder Jung, upon the departure of the Mharattas, entered Dhely, and attended in his offices at court; but he was much disgusted at the influence of the eunuch Jaweed Khan over the emperor, and the disgraceful peace made by the favourite's advice with the Abdallee Shaw. He resolved to remove him; and, for this purpose, having invited him to an entertainment, had him assassinated by one of his servants. This action enraged the emperor against him, and made him resolve on displacing him

from his person and the vizarut; but such was the power of Suffder Jung, that Ahmed Shaw dared not for the present avow his designs.

Ghazee ad Dien Khan, with the Mharattas, reached Aurungabad, the capital of Dekkan, unmolested, but died suddenly, a few nights after his arrival at the city; upon which his followers dispersed, and his body was brought by his domestics to Dhely. He left behind him one son, named Shaab ad Dien, a youth of extraordinary abilities. By the interest of Suffder Jung, he was appointed to succeed his father as ameer al amra, and received the same titles of Ghazee ad Dien Khan Bahadur, in addition to his own. The first use which the young man made of his power, was to advise the emperor to proceed to extremities in his resentment against his patron. Ahmed Shaw, accordingly, removed him from his office of meer atush, and expelled his deputy from the palace. Suffder Jung, unwilling to resist his sovereign, requested to be allowed to retire to his government of Oude; and the emperor consenting, he left Dhely, and encamped at a small distance from it. His friends, however, representing to him the folly of so easily resigning his power, he changed his intention of repairing to Oude, and resolved to depose Ahmed Shaw; for which purpose he called the Jauts to his assistance, and throwing off his allegiance, set up a youth as emperor, pretending that he was one of the royal family who had escaped from prison. He besieged Dhely for six months, but was bravely resisted by the young ameer al amra. Both parties at length being tired of the war, Suffder Jung, on being allowed to keep the provinces of Oude and Aleabad, gave up the pretended prince, and retired to his government, leaving Ghazee ad Dien Khan in possession of what authority yet remained to the imperial name, and his office of vizier was conferred on Intizam ad Dowlah, son of the late vizier, Kummir ad Dien Khan.

Upon

Upon the retreat of Suffder Jung, Ghazee ad Dien Khan, being joined by an army of Mharattas, which he had invited into his service, marched from Dhely against the Jaut raja, Soorauje Mul, who possessed the province of Agra. The raja, unable to keep the field, retired to his strongest fortress, which was surrounded; but the minister having no battering cannon petitioned the emperor to send the royal train from Dhely. By this time Ahmed Shaw had been alarmed at the ambitious proceedings of the young ameer al amra, who had behaved towards him with great haughtiness, and shewn little respect to the royal authority, which made him apprehensive of his own safety, should he acquire the rich conquest of the Jaut territories. Soorauje Mul had also written privately to court, that if the emperor would march to ^aSecundra, he would join him with his troops, and free him from the impending dangers of the treachery of his minister. This petition was enforced by the advice of Intizam ad Dowlah, who enjoyed the chief confidence of the emperor and his mother, to whose affections he had succeeded on the death of Jaweed Khan. Ahmed Shaw refused the cannon, and marched from Dhely with a small army of household guards, but a cumbrous train of followers and baggage, carrying with him all the ladies of the haram, to Secundra. Ghazee ad Dien, on intelligence of this, detached a party of Mharattas to impede his progress. These plunderers surprised the royal camp at night. Ahmed Shaw, with his mother and vizier, made their escape in covered litters to Dhely, with a few attendants, leaving their unhappy followers to the mercy of the enemy. On this occasion, all the insignia of royalty, the imperial baggage, and many princesses of the Timur family, (among whom was the widow of Mahummud Shaw) fell into the hands of the Mharattas. After the confusion of victory and consequent plunder, the ladies were released, and furnished with an escort to Dhely.

Ghazee

^a A town between Dhely and Agra.

A. H. 1167. Ghazee ad Dien now returned to Dhely, and assuming the
 A. D. 1753. vizarut from Intizam ad Dowlah, deposed the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw, who was blinded, and confined with his mother in Se-leemgur. Yezzeez ad Dien, son of the late Jehaundar Shaw, was proclaimed emperor, by the title of Aulumgeer the Second. This event happened on Sunday, the tenth of Shaubaun, 1167.

This year died Suffder Jung, late vizier, and foubahdar of Oude, and was succeeded in his government and estates by his son Shujah ad Dowlah.

AULUMGEER

AULUMGEER 2^d.

GHAZEE ad Dien Khan, upon the establishment of the new emperor's administration, marched from Dhely, carrying the pageant monarch with him, intending to wrest Lahore and Multaun from the Abdallee conqueror, Meer Munnoo, the governor, being lately dead, and the consequent confusion of affairs promising success to his designs; but a mutiny breaking out in a corps of cavalry, the officers treacherously seized his person, and treated him with great indignity. His other troops were afraid to act while he was in the hands of an enemy. The emperor, who was disgusted at the haughtiness of his minister, encouraged the mutineers, and even offered them a large sum to deliver their prisoner into his hands. In this dangerous crisis, the fortitude and address of Ghazee did not forsake him. He soothed the discontented officers with assurances of paying their arrears and forgetting their disrespect to his person. They released him; and the first use he made of his freedom was, to order Nujeeb ad Dowlah with his followers to fall upon the revolted corps. Numbers were slaughtered, and the rest dispersed. The minister returned for the present to Dhely, where he placed the weak Aulumgeer under a guard, and then taking with him the emperor's eldest son, Alee Gohur, renewed his expedition.

Ghazee ad Dien had been betrothed to the daughter of Meer Munnoo, and he now made the completion of his espousals a pretence

pretence for marching to Lahore, in order to conceal his designs of seizing the government from the widow. Upon his arrival at Lodiana, he dispatched a splendid escort and a letter to her mother, demanding his bride. She complied with his request, and committed the young lady to the charge of his emissaries, with her marriage portion, happy to purchase so easily the protection of the vizier. While engaged in the festivities of his nuptials, the minister dispatched suddenly a considerable force to Lahore, and the governess, not suspecting treachery, was seized and conducted with her treasures to the camp of her son in law, who conferred the government of the province on Adeena Beg Khan for an advance of thirty lacks of rupees. Upon the accomplishment of this affair he returned to Dhely; but the widow of Meer Munnoo was not to be appeased, threatening him with speedy vengeance for her affronts, from Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, her sovereign. Shortly indeed were her assurances fulfilled; and the unfortunate subjects of Hindoostan severely punished for the avarice of the vizier, who, however, by his address escaped the danger, which his insidious policy inflicted on the people.

A. H. 1170. Ahmed Shaw Abdallee immediately on intelligence of the
A. D. 1756. vizier's treachery marched from Candahar to Lahore, which was evacuated on his approach, and pursued his route to Dhely. Ghazee ad Dien, knowing himself incapable of resisting such an enemy, begged forgiveness of his mother in law, and obtaining her recommendations to the Shaw, set out for his camp with a few attendants. The Afghaun rebuked him severely for his treacherous conduct, but consented to pardon him, on promise of a large contribution from Dhely. To the capital the minister accompanied him, and, like Nadir Shaw, the conqueror took up his residence in the citadel. The wretched emperor Aulumgeer, being incapable of resistance, affected to receive him as a royal guest. Dhely was for many days given up to the merciless plunder

der of the soldiery, whose avarice was insatiable. Such was their cruelty in gratifying it, that numbers of the unfortunate inhabitants put themselves to death, with their women, to escape disgrace. A whole month passed in terror and alarms. The house of the late Kummir ad Dien Khan was plundered, and those families who had been fortunate enough to escape the rapacity of Nadir Shaw, were now also involved in ruin. Unsatisfied with the wealth of the capital, Ahmed Shaw marched against the Jaut raja, Soorauje Mul, who possessed the province of Agra, and dispatched Ghazee ad Dien Khan, with one of his generals and two princes of the house of Timur, to raise contributions from the Doaub, or countries lying between the Ganges and Jumna rivers.

Ghazee ad Dien being arrived at Ferokhabad, Ahmed Khan Bungush, the soubahdar, purchased his safety by a sum of money, and joined him with his troops; the minister intending to pursue his march into the territories of the young navob of Oude, Shujah ad Dowlah, who, suspecting his designs, had marched with all his forces to the frontier of his country, and was joined by the navob Saadoollah Khan, chief of the Rohillas, an alliance then subsisting between them. Ghazee, after trying in vain to detach Saadoollah from his friend, thought it prudent to suspend hostilities, and finally to give over his designs upon Oude, on Shujah's consenting to pay him an offering of five lacks of rupees for the young princes. He halted however at Ferokhabad, being unwilling to return to the Afghaun conqueror without the sums he had promised him.

Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, who had marched against the raja Soorauje Mul, after taking Bullungur, a strong fortress, and inflicting a general massacre on the unhappy inhabitants of Muttra, (a city venerated as holy among the Hindoos, and the resort of pilgrims from all parts of the empire) was employed in reducing

the citadel of Agra, which the imperial governor had refused to surrender; when a plague breaking out in his camp obliged him to think of retreating, lest his army should be so reduced, as to leave him a prey to the resentment of the conquered. He, accordingly, raised the siege of Agra, and returned to Dhely, near which he was met by the wretched Aulumgeer, who entreated him not to leave him in the power of his oppressive minister Ghazee ad Dien Khan. At his request, Nujeeb ad Dowlah was appointed ameer al amra, and enjoined to protect his master against the power of the vizier. At this time, the two widows of the late Mahummud Shaw, fearful of residing longer in Dhely, offered the daughter of that emperor to Ahmed Shaw, and petitioned for an asylum for themselves in his dominions. He accepted the princess in marriage, and complied with the request of the sultanas, who accompanied him to Candahar, to which he proceeded immediately after the celebration of his nuptials. His son Timur Shaw, who was married at the same time to a daughter of Aulumgeer was left with a considerable force at the city of Lahore.

During these calamities in the capital of the empire, Dekkan was also vexed by revolutions. Monsieur Buffy, the French general, who had obtained the sole influence in the court of the nizam Sullabut Jung, was governed in his turn by the advice of Hyder Jung, a native nobleman, who led him as he pleased. Mr. Buffy continued to conduct the affairs of Dekkan, till, by the intrigues of Nizam Alee, brother to Sullabut Jung, his counsellor Hyder Jung being assassinated, and the English, who had patronized Mahummud Alee Khan in the province of Arcot, growing powerful, he was obliged to return into the French territories to the assistance of his countrymen. Nizam Alee, being without a rival, deposed his brother, and assumed the government; but his power was much curtailed by the Mharattas,

rattas, who obliged him to resign a great part of his territories, and pay a tribute for the remainder. The English, after a long struggle with the French, took Pondicherry, which they destroyed, and obtained from the nizam a grant of the jaghires which had been given to their competitors in Dekkan.*

Upon the retreat of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, Ghazee ad Dien Khan having prevailed on the navob of Ferokhabad, Ahmed Khan Bungush, to join him with his troops, and called to his assistance an army of Mharattas under Ragonaut Raow and Holkar, marched to Dhely. The emperor and Nujeeb ad Dowlah, after a siege of forty five days, were obliged to submit to the enemy. Nujeeb ad Dowlah, by bribing the Mharattas, obtained leave to retire to his government; but the wretched emperor was left in the power of his minister. Ahmed Khan was appointed ameer al amra, as a return for his services. Ghazee ad Dien now possessed uncontrouled what little of the imperial power remained to the possessor of Dhely, but his jealousy was alarmed by the emperor's eldest son, Alee Gohur, who had obtained from his father a jaghire in the vicinity of the capital, and was employed in raising contributions from it, for his support, at the head of a small body of troops. The vizier obliged the emperor to recall the prince, who returned to Dhely; but the artifices of the minister could not prevail upon him to enter the citadel, where he knew he should be made a prisoner. Ghazee, enraged at his resistance, surrounded his palace, when the prince, by a gallant effort, cut his way with a very few brave followers through the troops, and made his escape to Nujeeb ad Dowlah, who protected him for eight months; at the expiration of which he marched to try his fortune in Bengal, the navob of which province, Serauje ad Dowlah

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*These events are amply detailed in the works of Messrs. Orme and Cambridge.

Dowlah had been deposed by the assistance of the English, and Meer Jaffier set up in his room.

Ghazee ad Dien Khan, disappointed in his attacks on the prince, resolved to execute vengeance on Nujeeb ad Dowlah, his protector; and for this purpose called in an army of Mharattas, under the chiefs Junko and Duttah Sindia, who invaded his country, which he defended against them for some months, being assisted by the navob of Oude and the Rohillas; when the Mharattas, at length, agreed for a sum of money to grant him peace, being called upon to defend their newly acquired territories in Lahore, which were threatened with loss by the approach of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee. Ghazee ad Dien Khan, apprehensive of the resentment of that prince for the indignities shewn to Aulumgeer, and the removal of Nujeeb ad Dowlah from the post of ameer al amra conferred upon him by Abdallee, assassinated his unhappy sovereign; and leaving Dhely in possession of the Mharattas, retired to one of the fortresses of Raja Soorauje Mul, chief of the Jauts, who gave him protection. * Mohee al Sunnut, son of Kaum Bukhsh, and grandson of Aurungzebe, was seated on the throne, by the title of ^b Shaw Jehaun, and insulted with the empty name of emperor.

When Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, left his son Timur Shaw with Jehaun Khan at Lahore, that chief thought it prudent to bestow a considerable tract of country in farm on Adeena Beg Khan, the general of the late Meer Munnoo, who was at the head of a considerable body of troops. Adeena Beg accepted his offer, and for some time remained faithful in his employment; but, being at length suspicious of Jehaun Khan's intentions towards him, he quitted his office, and retired to the hills with his followers, where he excited the Siks to rebellion, and, in conjunction with them, overran the country between the rivers Ravee

* Reviver of religion.

^b King of the world.

wee and Suttulludge. Jehaun Khan sent against him Moraud Khan, who was defeated, and the Durannies driven from several places. At this time, Ragonaut Raow, Shumsheer Bahadur, and Holkar, had reached the vicinity of Dhely with an army of Mharattas, to whom Adeena Beg Khan dispatched frequent invitations to invade Lahore, which they accepted. At Sirhind they were opposed by the governor, whom they defeated and took prisoner; after which they proceeded to Lahore by forced marches. Jehaun Khan, after some skirmishing, found himself unequal to defence against such superior numbers, and flying with Timur Shaw in the greatest haste, evacuated the country. His retreat put the victors in possession of the provinces of Lahore and Multaun; the former of which they conferred upon Adeena Beg Khan, on his agreeing to pay them annually the sum of ^a seventy five lacks of rupees, and retreated to Dhely. On the rains approaching, they marched back to Dekkan, but left a body of troops under Junko, as soubahdar of Ajmere, to protect their conquests.

The next year, Adeena Beg Khan dying, Junko gave the government of Sirhind to Suddeek Beg Khan, the country between the rivers to the widow of Adeena Beg Khan, and appointed Summa, a Mharatta chief, to reside at Lahore as soubahdar, who extended his dependancies as far north as the river Attok. During these events, the Mharatta power had spread itself in almost every province of Hindoostan, when Nujeeb ad Dowlah, the Rohillas, and Shujah ad Dowlah united, to prevent, if possible, the total overthrow of Mahummedan existence in the empire. Nujeeb ad Dowlah was at this time closely blocked up at Sukkertal; and though Shujah ad Dowlah had in some measure assisted him, yet the number of the enemy was so superior, that there was little prospect of long holding out
against

^a Seven hundred thousand pounds.

against them. The Hindoo princes also were equally oppressed by the Mharattas; who, though of the same faith, only left a bare maintenance to those whom they conquered. Both Mussulmans and Hindoos joined in petitions to Ahmed Shaw, that he would march and assume the throne of Dhely, in which they promised to support him. The Abdallee, enraged at the seizure of Lahore by the Mharattas, was rejoiced at the invitation, which assured him that he would only have one enemy to oppose, and he resolved to accept it. He advanced without delay across the Attok, and drove the Mharattas before him to Lahore, which they evacuated also upon his arrival. They were joined in their flight by Suddeek Beg Khan, the widow of Adeena Beg, and their other renters; nor did they stop till they had reached the vicinity of Dhely. From Lahore, Ahmed Shaw advanced towards Dhely. Upon intelligence of his approach reaching Duttah Sindia, that chief raised the blockade of Nujeeb ad Dowlah's camp, without finishing a negotiation of peace then began, and marched with an army of eighty thousand horse against Ahmed Shaw. That prince had crossed the Jumna, on account of the great scarcity of provisions in the high road from Lahore, owing to the late depredations of the Mharattas, who had plundered and laid waste the country in their flight, in order to retard his pursuit, and, perhaps, oblige him to retreat to his own country for want of subsistence. He was soon joined by the chiefs Nujeeb ad Dowlah, Saadoollah Khan, Hafiz Rhamut, and Doondee Khan, who supplied his army with grain and other necessaries from their territories east of the Ganges. The Mharattas encamped near Dhely, and Ahmed Shaw marched to give them battle. For some days, the Duranny remained hovering round their camp, and skirmishing only took place between detached parties on either side. At length Duttah, distressed for provisions, having first sent off his nephew Junko to Dekkan, with a small party, determined to hazard a battle. With his whole army dismounted, he drew up

up in front of his camp, inviting the Durannies to action. The challenge was accepted, and a bloody engagement succeeded, in which, at last, Duttah and the greatest part of his troops were cut to pieces. Ahmed Shaw the same day, immediately after the victory, hastened in pursuit of Junko, and did not quit it till he arrived at Narnoul. Here he received intelligence that Holkar, who was the Mharatta chief in the Jeypore country, had marched to Soorauje Mul, chief of the Jauts, whom he endeavoured to prevail upon to join him; but he alleged in his excuse for not complying, that he could not spare troops from his garrisons, which he must defend against the Durannies. Holkar upon this moved with his own troops to Secundra, ^a twenty coss to the eastward of Dhely, where the Rohilla chiefs had collected stores of grain, and a supply of money for the Shaw's army, hoping to distress him by seizing them; but the Rohillas had taken the precaution to move the grain across the Ganges. The Shaw, upon this intelligence, detached Shaw Puffund Khan with a body of horse against Holkar. In the space of twenty four hours he marched with fifteen thousand horse from Narnoul to Dhely, the distance of ^b seventy coss, and only remaining a day at that city for refreshment, crossed the Jumna the night following, and about dawn arrived at Secundra, where Holkar was encamped. The Mharatta chief was completely surprised, and had scarce time to make his escape quite naked, with about three hundred followers. The rest of his troops were either killed or taken prisoners, and a great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Ahmed Shaw moved from Narnoul to Dhely; and at the approach of the rains crossed the Jumna to canton at Secundra, for the convenience of being supplied with provisions, as the country round Dhely, on the western bank of

^a Forty miles.

^b One hundred and forty miles.

of the Jumna, had been laid waste and desolate by his own and the enemy's depredations.

When intelligence of Duttah Sindia's defeat and death, the loss of Lahore, Dhely, and the overthrow of Holkar, reached Dekkan, Suddasheo Raow, commonly called Bhaow, nephew to Ballajee, the peshwa, and several other chiefs of the first note, and an army of sepoys, disciplined in the European method, artillery, and an innumerable host of cavalry, marched to regain their possessions in Hindoostan. Upon the arrival of this army near Agra, Soorauje Mul, the Jaut raja, was prevailed upon by Mulhar and Holkar, who had taken refuge with him, to visit the Bhaow; and at Muttra, Ghazee ad Dien Khan with a few followers joined them.

A. H. 1173. Suddasheo Bhaow, as the rapidity and depth of the Jumna
A. D. 1759. would not permit him to cross and attack the Duranny Shaw, marched to Dhely, which he entered, and immediately commenced an assault upon the palace. One attack was made at the lion bastion, and another at the Dhely gate. Holkar and Junko endeavoured to force the gate, but in vain. At length, five hundred men with matchlocks, under Eetul Raow, scaled the walls near the lion bastion, and forced their way to the doors of the royal haram. Some Durannies now rushed from Seleemghur, and by a volley laid twelve of the assailants dead; which so alarmed the rest, that they in the greatest disorder turned their backs, and threw themselves over the walls. The Mharatta chiefs then retired to the palace of Saadoollah Khan. They erected batteries in different places, and Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who commanded the disciplined sepoys and artillery, brought three pieces of cannon to bear on the fort from the bank of the Jumna, with which he battered the lion bastion, the octagonal tower, and the royal haram. Great part of the private audience

audience hall, and other apartments were damaged, and the unfortunate confined princes and princesses thrown into terror and confusion. For some days cannonading continued; at the end of which, Yacoob Ali Khan, the Duranny governor, finding provisions fall short, and seeing that no assistance could reach him from Ahmed Shaw, on account of the fulness of the Jumna, proposed to surrender the palace, on condition of being allowed to march out unmolested, with his followers and effects. His offer was complied with; and, evacuating the fort, he crossed the Jumna in boats with his garrison, and proceeded to the camp of Ahmed Shaw. The Bhaow gave the command of the garrison to Naroo Sunker, a bramin of distinction. The Bhaow, though he had the presumption to aspire at the empire of Hindoostan, was low and mean in his actions. He broke down the ceiling of the grand hall of audience, which was of silver, and melted it for coin. The gold and silver plate at the tombs of *Nizam ad Dien Ouleah, and those at the sepulchres of the emperors, as censers, lamps, and candlesticks, he also seized; and was guilty of every plunder expressive of a little mind. He had the imprudence to remain at Dhely, though the utmost scarcity of provisions prevailed, owing to the country adjacent having been the scene of war for four years successively. Towards the conclusion of the rains, he marched out to plunder the little cultivation which had taken place. On the twenty ninth of Suffir he placed Shaw^b Jewan Bukht, son of Alee Gohur Shaw Aulum, on the throne, and appointed Shujah ad Dowlah his vizier, to whom firmauns were sent,

A. H. 1174.
A. D. 1760.

VOL. II.

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* A celebrated Mahummedan saint.

^b The same prince, who, in the year 1784, made his escape from Dhely, and threw himself on the protection of Mr. Hastings; who, by his influence with the vizier, obtained for him an allowance of forty thousand pounds per annum. On his death a liberal share of this pension was continued to his women and family, who yet reside at Banaras, under the English protection.

in hopes that this measure would breed dissention between him and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee. Having left Naroo Sunker in Dhely to command the garrison, he at length marched with his army to Gunjeporah, where Abd al Summud Khan, Nujabut Khan, and Koottub Khan, with the zemindars of the country, were stationed to procure grain for the Duranny camp. He laid siege to the fort, which fell in a few days, and the chiefs were all slain in the storm.

The Duranny Shaw, immediately upon receiving intelligence of this event, though the river Jumna was not yet safely fordable, gave orders for march, and swam with his army across the river at Pakput near Dhely, though not without the loss of many men, who were drowned in the attempt; which, however, so astonished the Bhaow, who had marched to plunder the town of Sirhind, that he gave up the design, and returned with precipitation to Panniput. He had with him one hundred and forty thousand horse, commanded by the most celebrated and veteran Mharatta chiefs, besides his corps of sepoys and artillery; but, with this great force, not thinking himself equal to engage the Abdallee, he entrenched himself on a plain to the north of Panniput. The Duranny army soon arrived near him, and Ahmed Shaw sent out parties to prevent grain from passing to his camp. Daily skirmishes took place between bodies from both armies. At length, Ahmed Shaw finding that nothing would force the Mharattas from their camp, resolved upon an assault. Jehaun Khan, Puffund Khan, and Nujeeb ad Dowlah, formed the van, and were followed by the other Indian chiefs. The Mharattas on their approach drew out at a little distance in front of their lines. The action began with much fury at twelve o'clock, and continued doubtful with great slaughter till near twilight, when the Rohilla infantry

infantry of Nujeeb ad Dowlah forced their way into the enemy's works, and Bulwunt Raow, a near relation to the Bhaow, was killed, with a great number of men; but night coming on, Ahmed Shaw ordered a retreat, and the struggle ceased. Famine and sickness raged in the Mharatta camp, and numbers died every day; but they still held out, in hopes of being shortly supplied with provisions by Govind Pundit, the chief of Etawa and Korah, who had been collecting grain and money, which he had brought as far as Shawdirruk near Dhely, with an escort of ten thousand horse, intending to march up on the side of the Jumna opposite the Shaw's camp, and by degrees join his friends. Ahmed Shaw had intelligence of his motions, and sent Atta Beg Duranny, with five thousand horse, to intercept him. This chief crossed the Jumna, and in two days by forced marches reached Shawdirruk, where he surprized and put to death the deputy of Naroo Sunker, and all his people. From thence he advanced to Ghazee ad Dien Nuggur, and cut off a party of the enemy at that place. He then hastened to Jellallabad, where Govind Pundit had arrived with his convoy the same day. He was completely surprized, and his followers mostly fled. Those who resisted were cut to pieces, with himself and all his chief officers. The rich convoy, with the head of Govind Pundit, was conducted to Ahmed Shaw; who by this stroke completed the blockade of the Mharatta camp beyond relief. The enemy's station was now rendered intolerable by filth of every kind, numbers dying every day of famine and sickness. The chiefs held a consultation, and agreed, that as by remaining in entrenchments they must perish with disease and hunger, it was better to hazard a battle, and, if defeated, fly to Dekkan. They marched out of their camp, and advanced, with their artillery in front, towards the army of the Shaw, who was prepared for their reception, and per-

mitted them to move a considerable distance from their works. At length the Afghans rushed upon them with such fury, as not to give them time to use their cannon. Little resistance was made, as the *Bhaow was killed almost on the onset, which had an immediate effect on his troops, who fell into confusion. Junko and many other chiefs of note fell, and the route became general. Ibrahim Khan Gardee with his sepoy made some stand, but were overpowered, and cut to pieces. The field floated with the blood of the numerous slain. Two and twenty thousand men and women were taken prisoners, and the plunder of the Mharatta camp exceeded all valuation. A great train of artillery, fifty thousand horses, two hundred thousand cattle, several thousand camels, and five hundred elephants, formed a part of this vast capture. But this was not all the loss of the enemy; for those who had escaped from the hands of the Durannies were mostly put to death in the villages, where they had hoped to find refuge; and of the chiefs of any rank, only three, among whom was Holkar Mulhar, found their way to Dekkan. In that country the intelligence of the defeat spread an universal consternation, and threw the Mharatta states into a confusion, from which, had the princes of Hindoostan followed the blow by a unity of action among themselves, they never could have recovered. But the nobles of Hindoostan had no sooner rid themselves of this general enemy, than their animosities revived against each other. The Duranny Shaw after his victory marched to Dhely, where he continued some months. Before his departure, he acknowledged Shaw Aulum as emperor of Hindoostan, and commanded

* Several pretenders have since started up, calling themselves the Bhaow. In 1779 one appeared at Banaras, and began to levy troops and raise disturbances in the city; upon which he was seized, and confined in the English garrison of Chunar, from whence he was released by Mr. Hastings in 1782.

manded Shujah ad Dowlah and the other chiefs to submit to his authority. Sultan Jewan Bukht was continued on the throne as regent, till his father, then in Bengal, should return to Dhely; and Nujeeb ad Dowlah was entrusted with the care of the city and protection of the royal family.

SHAW

SHAW AULUM 2^d.

A. H. 1175. **SHUJAH** ad Dowlah having received the khelaut of the
 A. D. 1761. vizarut from Shaw Aulum, who was on his march from Patna, where he had been acknowledged by the *English, and the navob Meer Caufim Khan, hastened to receive him on the confines of his province, at the river Carumnaffa. From thence the emperor and vizier marched into Bondelcund, and seized several districts from the Mharattas, not yet recovered from their late defeat. At the conclusion of this campaign, Meer Caufim having been expelled from Bengal by the English, threw himself on the protection of the vizier, who agreed to assist him in the recovery of his territories, when the events followed which are related in the account of the affairs of Bengal, following this history.

Nujeeb ad Dowlah, on the departure of Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, being in possession of Dhely, was shortly after attacked by Soorauje Mul, raja of the Jauts, who had already extended his authority over the capital of Agra and its dependancies; but the raja being slain, as he was imprudently riding out with a thin attendance too near the enemy's line, his army fled, and the ameer al amra obtained an almost bloodless victory. He was however shortly after attacked by Jowahir Mul, the son and successor

* A particular account of this, and other transactions of Shaw Aulum in Bengal, will be seen in the history of that province, in this volume.

cessor of Soorauje Mul, when Dhely suffered the hardships of a siege for forty two days; at the expiration of which, Nujeeb ad Dowlah obtained a peace by making some concessions to the young raja. From this time he governed Dhely, and the few districts yet in possession of the royal family, with moderation and justice, till his death; when he was succeeded in his dominions by his son Zabtah Khan, who continued to protect the royal family; the emperor Shaw Aulum residing at Aleabad, with the English.

Shaw Aulum at length growing weary of his retirement at Aleabad, and finding, after repeated applications, that he could not obtain the assistance of the English to put him in possession of Dhely, over which he had only a nominal authority, or to extend his real power beyond the limits of the two small provinces of Aleabad and Korah, resolved to quit their protection, and call in the Mharattas to escort him to the capital of the empire, near which a considerable army was encamped. To this resolution he was urged on by Husham ad Dowlah, his favourite, who hoped to acquire the sole administration of the royal affairs, should the emperor leave Aleabad, where his power was controlled by Moneer ad Dowlah, an old minister, who enjoyed the confidence and support of the English, and with justice, as a respectable character, the favourite being a weak man, and known chiefly as the pander of the looser pleasures of his royal master. The vizier, Shujah ad Dowlah, though apparently against the measure, yet privately encouraged Husham ad Dowlah to persuade the emperor to march, and even gave him a sum of money, as a proof of his friendship; for he regarded the presence of Shaw Aulum with the English, as a bar to the success of plans in which he required their assistance. Moneer ad Dowlah, who was well acquainted with the character of the Mharattas, and foresaw that his master would in the end fall a prey to their treachery, endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him against giving up the com-

A.H. 1185.

A.D. 1771.

comfortable asylum of Aleabad, and the solid revenue he enjoyed from the English protection, for the acquisition of a desolated capital. The presidency of Calcutta also remonstrated; but Shaw Aulum was determined. He marched from Aleabad, and was accompanied as far as the frontiers of Korah by the vizier and Sir Robert Barker, commander in chief of the English forces. The latter, at taking leave, renewed his advice that his Majesty would remain with his nation; but Shaw Aulum was impatient to see himself enthroned in the palace of his ancestors. He moved onwards to Ferokhabad, the nabob of which, Ahmed Khan Bunguh, being lately dead, his estates and effects, according to the usage of the empire, had reverted to the crown. His son and successor, Muzzuffir Jung, on the payment of five lacks of rupees, as a composition for the royal demand, was confirmed in the possessions of his father. Shaw Aulum now had a respectable treasury, having made considerable savings from the revenue paid him by the English, and also obtained an advance of twenty two lacks of rupees for drafts on the Bengal tribute for the ensuing year, from the vizier and Moneer ad Dowlah. His army, though small, was well appointed; and he had two battalions of sepoys, which had been disciplined by * English officers.

After

* The officers were removed on the march of Shaw Aulum. Different opinions have prevailed on the policy or impolicy of the English not joining the emperor. Had they accompanied him with a brigade, their conquests would doubtless have been splendid; but to preserve them they must have inevitably taken the lead in all public affairs. To some native nobles changes must have occurred from that very circumstance, and the council of Bengal knew they would have been loudly represented to our countrymen as acts of barbarity in the stigmatized servants of the company. My countrymen, compare impartially our conduct in the affairs of Bengal, with that of the native victors; and let the prejudices excited by interested, abusive, and, perhaps, envious eloquence, give place to the proper feelings of Englishmen, on discovering that the honour of our country has not been sullied by Englishmen in India. At home, you have seen false patriots daily. Believe me, we are not so treacherous in India. Posterity will do us justice.

After a stay of nearly two months in the vicinity of Ferokhabad, the emperor moved to Nubby Gunge, twenty five cofs nearer Dhely; where he was joined by Sindia, a Mharatta chief, who came to settle the terms of service, and to escort him to the camp of his principal Bissajee, then encamped near Dhely. Moneer ad Dowlah had been left in charge of the provinces of Aleabad and Korah; so that Hufham ad Dowlah had now attained his wished for office of acting minister. He agreed to pay the Mharattas ten lacks of rupees, when the emperor should be put in possession of Dhely; but they insisted upon the sum in advance; which, after much negotiation was given them, and they performed the conditions. About the latter end of December 1771, Shaw Aulum made his entry into Dhely, and received the congratulations of his family, and the inhabitants of the ancient capital of Hindoostan.

The emperor's stay in Dhely was but short. He had resolved on the ruin of Zabtah Khan, for which many reasons are assigned. He had, it was said, been deficient in respect to the royal authority while Shaw Aulum resided at Aleabad; and it was also whispered, that during his command in the palace of Dhely, he had abused his trust, by corrupting the ladies of the haram, particularly the princess Khieroonissa, the emperor's sister; a conduct certainly deserving the royal displeasure. Whatever were the causes, Shaw Aulum had determined to seize his territories, and the Mharattas readily agreed to assist him, not only from the hope of plunder, but of gratifying their revenge for the losses they had suffered from Nujeeb ad Dowlah; to whose courage the victory of Shaw Ahmed Abdallee at Panniput had been greatly owing.

Shaw Aulum marched again in January 1772, not more than twenty days after his arrival at Dhely, with an army of

ninety thousand men, chiefly Mharatta cavalry, and without delay entered the districts of Zabtah Khan; who, unable to resist such a force in the field, evacuated his capital of Ghose Ghur, which was plundered, and fled across the Ganges, hoping to defend his territories on the eastern bank of that river, which he trusted would impede the royal progress. He stationed troops at the different fords; but this step weakened his main body, and was the cause of his destruction. Nujeeb Khan gallantly crossed the river, and dispersed the troops at one of the stations, when he was followed by the chief part of the Mharatta army; after which Zabtah Khan made but little resistance. He fled to Pattergur, where he had deposited his women and treasures, but was so closely pursued, that he had not time to remove them. This place surrendered after a few days' siege, and his family and effects fell into the hands of the enemy; but Zabtah Khan, with a few attendants, made his escape to the camp of the vizier, Shujah ad Dowlah, who was advanced to Shawabad, the frontier city of his dominions, to watch the motions of the Mharattas, attended also by Sir Robert Barker, with four battalions of sepoy, and some officers appointed to discipline the vizier's regular battalions. The first brigade, under Colonel Champion, had also marched as far as Banaras, to be ready to join the vizier in case of necessity. The dry season was spent by the royal army in reducing the remainder of Zabtah Khan's possessions and part of Rohilcund, the chiefs of which fled for refuge to the hills adjacent, and the principal one, Hafiz Rhamut, repaired to the camp of Shujah ad Dowlah to purchase his protection.

At the approach of the rains, the Mharattas pressed the emperor to canton at Burrelly, the capital of Hafiz Rhamut's country, promising, at the conclusion, to reduce all Rohilcund to the royal authority, and even to attack Shujah ad Dowlah and

and the English; but Shaw Aulum absolutely declined molesting the vizier or his allies, and insisted on returning to Dhely; to which, much against their wills, they at length consented.

This campaign ended very little to the satisfaction of the emperor, for the Mharattas paid him but little respect, and allowed him scarce any share of the plunder or territory acquired by the war. They also restored to Zabtah Khan his women and children, for a ransom of a lack and half of rupees, which was generously advanced him by Shujah ad Dowlah.

Shaw Aulum, upon his return to Dhely, rewarded the services of his general Nujeef Khan, by the gift of some districts which had been abandoned by Zabtah Khan; and established other chiefs in Sarungpore and other pergunnahs taken in the campaign, which had been left to the royal disposal by the Mharattas, who passed the rainy season in the province of Agra, in endeavouring to reduce the Jauts to pay them the choute tribute.

At the conclusion of the rains, the affairs of the emperor assumed a gloomy aspect. His treacherous allies, the Mharattas, whose only object was present gain, having drained Shaw Aulum's treasury, agreed, for a sum of money, to restore to Zabtah Khan the country, for which they had been amply paid by the sovereign, and to give back to the Jauts some districts which had been resigned to the emperor on his first arrival at Dhely. They insolently issued their orders to the royal officers to evacuate their stations, and they were obliged to submit to superior force; so that in a few weeks the unhappy Shaw Aulum found himself without any territory but the ruined capital of Dhely, all besides being sold back into those very hands which had held them previous to his connections with the

Mharattas. The unhappy monarch now experienced, not only loss of territory, but personal indignity from his own troops; who, expelled from the districts on which they had assignments for their pay, crowded to Dhely, and began to be clamorous for their arrears. The emperor had expended his ready money on the Mharattas, the causers of his distress. The minister, Husham ad Dowlah, instead of attempting measures to alleviate the sufferings of his master, endeavoured to turn them to his own advantage, by making them the instrument of ruining Nujeef Khan, of whose growing favour at court he was become jealous. The royal troops were mostly disbanded, on pretence that there was no money to pay them, and Nujeef Khan's corps among the rest. The Mharattas were privately invited by the minister to Dhely. Nujeef Khan, however, was so beloved by his people, who regarded him as of fortunate auspices, that they would not leave him, trusting to happier times for a reward; and many of the chiefs dismissed by the minister embraced his fortunes. Nujeef Khan in vain endeavoured to persuade the emperor to disburse money from his privy purse, and levy troops to prevent the Mharattas from entering Dhely, as the only means to avert his ruin; but Shaw Aulum, having so recently experienced treachery, would not confide in him, and resolved to trust to chance for the decision of his fate. He was at the same time inclined to hope, from the persuasions of Husham ad Dowlah, that the march of the Mharattas was not with offensive designs to the royal power.

At length, the Mharatta army, with the Jauts and Rohillas under Zabtah Khan, arrived near Dhely, and Shaw Aulum, when too late, repented of his neglect of Nujeef Khan; who was now requested to endeavour to save the city. Negotiation was in vain, as the enemy demanded the controul of the emperor's person and the garrison of the palace. Nujeef Khan resolved

solved to oppose them. Of the royal troops there only remained the two regular battalions of sepoy's disciplined by the English, and two others armed with muskets. Nujeeff Khan had a body of five thousand horse, and a small party of French, who had lately quitted the service of the Jauts. With this force, but ill supplied with ammunition, he marched out of the city, and took post at about two miles distant from it, having the river Jumna on his left, and on his right the old citadel. His rear was defended by the artillery of the city walls. The Mharattas made a general attack, almost as soon as he had formed his line, and were repulsed with loss; but Nujeeff Khan imprudently pursuing the enemy, was drawn from his advantageous position, when they rallied, and surrounded him with so superior a body of cavalry, as turned the fortune of the day. Nujeeff Khan escaped with great difficulty, after the loss of several of his best officers and a near relation, to the two disciplined battalions, who nobly stood their ground. The French had rashly quitted their post in pursuit, and, after much loss, with the greatest difficulty attained a shelter under the walls of the old citadel. The two battalions sustained repeated charges till night, when the enemy retired; and Nujeeff Khan, grown indifferent to life, was with force, by his friends carried into Dhely. He had attempted several times to rush singly on the enemy and court his death. It was said, that this defeat was owing to the treachery of Husham ad Dowlah, who had allowed the Mharattas to pass unmolested under the walls of the city, in the rear of Nujeeff Khan. It is certain that the minister was not displeased at the loss of his rival.

The emperor was now obliged to throw himself on the mercy of his enemies. After some days spent in negotiation, the Mharattas encamped nearer the city, and their chiefs, Bissajee and Holkar, with Zabtah Khan, escorted by a large body of troops, made a triumphant entry into the palace, to visit his majesty.

They

They advanced upon their elephants to the gate of the public hall of audience, a privilege allowed only to the imperial family. Their followers filled the various courts of the palace. They even attempted to penetrate the female apartments, and were prevented only by the intricate windings of the passages from molesting the women, and adding the worst disgrace to fallen royalty. At the gate of the hall of audience the chiefs condescended to alight, and to make the customary obeisances; but the unfortunate emperor was obliged, at the same time, to descend from his throne, and sit on a small carpet to receive them. Biffajee and Holkar, after some interval, helped him to re-ascend his throne; which he may be said now to have received from their hands. The whole of the interview passed in the most humiliating condescensions of the emperor, and the greatest insolence on the part of the Mharattas.

After this visit, Husham ad Dowlah having laid the blame of resistance on Nujeef Khan, and divided a lack of rupees between the two Mharatta chiefs, they, for this trifling sum, agreed to expel his rival from Dhely. A message in the royal name was sent to Nujeef Khan, commanding him to pay money received on the emperor's account, during the last campaign in Rohilcund. Nujeef Khan alleged truly, that he had expended the sum demanded, about ^a eighty thousand rupees, on his troops; but his plea was not accepted, and he was threatened with force. By pledging some jewels, plate, and the contributions of friends, he made shift to raise the money, which he paid; but his danger did not end here. He was peremptorily commanded to quit the city, and threatened with force if he did not comply.

Nujeef

^a Ten thousand pounds.

Nujeef Khan was now reduced to the last extremity. He saw that nothing but his destruction would satisfy the minister, and was without money for his daily support; but courage, in such distress, did not forsake him or his friends. They collected their women and children into the quarter surrounding his palace, resolving, if forced, to save their honour, by putting them to death, and then seek their own by rushing on the enemy. Baricadoes were formed at the different avenues, defended by artillery. The quarter was surrounded by the minister's troops; who, however, were too cowardly to make an attack. Husham ad Dowlah had then recourse to the Mharattas; but they refused sending troops into the city, lest it should occasion a general massacre and pillage. Upon this refusal, the minister obtained from the emperor, (who was inexcusable in granting it,) a letter, written in his own hand, begging their assistance, but in vain; the gallant behaviour of Nujeef Khan having raised sentiments of admiration and compassion in the breast of their chiefs. Holkar dispatched to him his nephew, with solemn assurances of safety and protection, if he would quit Dhely and come to his camp. Nujeef Khan accepted his offer; but first resolved to obtain, if possible, the emperor's dismissal from his own mouth. His progress to the palace was conducted with a solemnity, which evidently proved the love and reverence his followers bore him. He was mounted on horseback, and proceeded slowly through the streets, guarded by his dependants to the number of some thousands, on foot, with drawn sabres, and loaded pieces, exclaiming at intervals, agreeably to the Persian custom at the great mourning on the anniversary of the massacre of their Imaums, "Ya Houssein, Ya Houssein," with doleful cries. On his arrival at the gate of the palace, he sent a request for an interview with the emperor; but it was refused; nor indeed would it have been prudent or safe to grant it, in the present disposition of the injured chief and his followers. From the palace he marched in the same solemn manner to the
Mharatta

Mharatta camp, where he was politely received by Holkar, who, on hearing that he had not eaten for some time for want of necessaries, supplied him with a sum of money. After some conversation, Nujeef Khan returned to the city; from whence, after three days, he departed, with his family and followers, and was received into the service of Holkar, at a salary of * six thousand rupees a day for himself and his corps.

The Mharattas, now obliged the emperor to confer on Zabtah Khan the rank of ameer al amra, and to restore him the grant of almost all the districts, of which he had only a few months before been deprived by their assistance. The Jauts were also reinstated in their possessions, and the Mharattas took to themselves an extensive and fertile tract, lying between the Ganges and Jumna rivers; so that Shaw Aulum was left almost destitute of revenue. He was also forced to make presents, and assign over by grant the provinces of Aleabad and Korah to his rapacious allies; which, however, they dared not at present attempt to occupy, through fear of the English, who supported the royal governor, Moneer ad Dowlah.

A. D. 1773.

The Mharattas having plundered Dhely, marched into Rohilcund; but their progress was interrupted by the arrival of Shujah ad Dowlah and an English brigade to the assistance of the Rohillas. After plundering the northern parts, on the appearance of the allied army, they retreated across the Ganges, from the bank of which they fired a few shot on the English line; but their cannon being soon dismounted by the enemy's fire, they retreated towards the Jumna, and shortly after returned to Dekkan, where some dissensions in their own government called for the presence of their chiefs. It is probable, that they had long before resolved on

* Six hundred pounds sterling and upwards.

on a retreat to their own country, and that the necessity of it hastened their treacherous conduct to the emperor; being willing to obtain what they could, from the territories which they were obliged to quit.

Nujeef Khan had, on the near approach of the allied army, taken the opportunity of quitting the service of Holkar, the Mharatta chief, and joining Shujah ad Dowlah, who received him with great kindness, appointed him his deputy in the office of vizier, and sent him back to Dhely, with the most earnest recommendations to the emperor to employ him in the room of Husham ad Dowlah; and this advice was also seconded by Sir Robert Barker. The vizier now returned into his own dominions, where the English army also cantoned.

Nujeef Khan, on his arrival at Dhely, was received with the warmest caresses by the emperor, now much disgusted with and weary of the conduct of his minister, who had not only occasioned his sufferings from the Mharattas, but had also broken his promise of redeeming some valuable jewels, which had been intrusted to him to pledge during his necessities. Nujeef Khan offered not only to redeem the jewels, but to pay the arrears of the royal troops, grown mutinous, if he would deliver the minister into his hands. Shaw Aulum assented; and the fallen favourite being seized, his effects were confiscated, to the amount of ^a ten lacks of rupees, little more than a fifth part of which, however, was paid to the emperor, the rest being withheld by Nujeef Khan.

Husham ad Dowlah had risen to power from a menial situation; not by merit or distinguished abilities, but by making infamously

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^a One hundred thousand pounds.

mous use of his master's foibles, in procuring beautiful women for his pleasures. He was without education, and unable to read or write. His insolence in office was disgusting to all. During his administration he was feared and detested ; and his fall was rejoiced at by all ranks. He remained in close confinement nearly two years, when Nujeef Khan not only set him at liberty, but allotted him a liberal pension for his support in private life ; in which he has since remained undistinguished.

Nujeef Khan was now appointed second bukhshi, and, at his recommendation, Abdulahud Khan, his friend, third, whom he left to manage affairs with the emperor, while he himself engaged in an expedition against the Jauts, over whom he was successful in a general action. His army consisted of three of the royal battalions, three thousand Rohilla irregular infantry, and about eight thousand horse under various adventurers. It was stipulated, that he should retain half the conquered districts for the support of his dignity and troops, and resign the other to the emperor. Shaw Aulum now obtained repossession of some districts in the vicinity of Dhely, and his affairs began to wear a tolerable aspect.

A.D. 1774.

Shujah ad Dowlah was now advanced to Etawa, from whence he had driven the Mharatta garrison, with a considerable army, and was waiting the arrival of an English brigade, to proceed on an expedition against the Rohillas, who had failed in their engagements to pay him forty lacks of rupees for his protection of their country the last year. Here he was visited by Nujeef Khan, who had reduced the city of Agra from the Jauts, and it was agreed, that he should invade the Rohillas on one side, while the vizier and his allies advanced on the other. This point being settled, Nujeef Khan repaired to Dhely.

Shujah

Shujah ad Dowlah had dispatched his minister Eeruch Khan to the capital, in the beginning of February, to negotiate with the emperor. The minister arrived at court with a considerable force and a large sum of money. With the first he browbeat the royal officers, and with the other bribed largely. He proposed to the emperor to take the field and join in the attack of the Rohillas; on which condition, the vizier promised to pay down immediately ^a two lacks of rupees for the expense of preparation, ^b ten thousand rupees every marching day, and ^c five thousand each halting day. He agreed also to resign half the conquered country to the royal disposal, when he should have paid his engagements with the English for their assistance.

The emperor at first gave his assent; but his inclinations were against aggrandizing his vizier at the expense of the Rohillas, whom, it is said, he informed of the designs against them. He was, however, prevailed upon to march a short distance, and crossing the Jumna, encamped at Shawdirruk, on the eastern bank, pretending to join Shujah ad Dowlah, who was now advanced to Coffy Gunge, within an hundred miles of Dhely. Upon his entering the camp, he received the two lacks of rupees stipulated, and also ^d seventy five thousand during his short stay in the field; but suddenly feigning severe illness, he returned to the palace, and his further march was laid aside. Eeruch Khan, however, by his money, threats, and promises, though he could not draw the emperor to join in the campaign, obtained grants for the vizier of all the Rohilla country, Kinnoje, and Etawa; also of the provinces of Korah and Aleabad, of which he had already received possession.

K k 2

fion

^a Twenty thousand pounds.

^b One thousand pounds.

^c Five hundred pounds.

^d Seven thousand five hundred pounds.

sion from the English; who, as they had in fact procured them for Shaw Aulum, thought themselves entitled to dispose of them again, when he had resigned his claim to the Mharattas. The emperor also, by an instrument in his own hand writing, constituted Shujah ad Dowlah sole arbiter and director of all the royal interests and concerns without exception, even to the remission of the tribute of Bengal. For these concessions, important as they were, Shaw Aulum received only about ^a three lacks and a half of rupees, and a promise from the vizier upon oath, of half the territory of the Rohillas, or an equivalent in the ^b Doaub, more adjacent to the capital; but this condition was never performed, though so solemnly made.

Eeruch Khan also prevailed on the emperor to give Zabtah Khan the farm of the revenues of Mheerut, then in possession of the Mharattas, who were now expelled from it and all the western provinces, except a small territory in Ajmere. The vizier obtained this favour in order to secure Zabtah Khan in his interest, against his own contrymen the Rohillas.

During this negotiation, Nujeef Khan arrived at Dhely from his visit to Shujah ad Dowlah, and was at first received with great coolness, not undeservedly, for he had neglected the performance of his engagements to resign to the emperor half the conquests from the Jauts, and had refused to admit a royal officer into the command of the citadel of Agra, which he had promised to do when joined by the emperor's battalions; but as Shaw Aulum could not punish his disrespect, he was seemingly reconciled to him, on Nujeef Khan's making new protestations of loyalty. The imperial troops, however, were no longer allowed to act under his orders.

Towards

^a Thirty five thousand pounds.

^b Country between the rivers Ganges and Jumna.

Towards the end of April 1774, Nujeef Khan marched from Dhely to join Shujah ad Dowlah; who with his allies the English, had defeated the Rohillas in a general engagement, in which Hafiz Rhamut, the leading chief being killed, the others fled for refuge to the hills, leaving their country an easy prey to the vizier; who took possession of all Rohilcund, except the districts of Rampore, which were granted in jaghire to Fyzoollah Khan, at the mediation of the English, upon his submission to the vizier. Zabtah Khan also joined Shujah ad Dowlah; but being greatly in arrear to the royal treasury for the revenue of his country, Shaw Aulum, in his absence, detached a force, who expelled his collectors from Mheerut and other districts without opposition.

The emperor's affairs, though far from brilliant, yet, by the addition of territory taken from Zabtah Khan, assumed a comfortable aspect; and had he joined Shujah ad Dowlah, it is probable he would have obtained some further acquisition; but he was diverted from it by the acting minister Abdulahud Khan, who feared his own influence would be lost in the superior consequence of the vizier: nor was this the first time that Shaw Aulum suffered by sacrificing to the self-interest of a favourite.

Nujeef Khan, after performing what was required of him in the Rohilla war, returned to Dhely, reinforced by some troops lent him by Shujah ad Dowlah, who heartily forwarded his advancement, and, it is said, recommended him to remove Abdulahud Khan from the emperor. The minister, suspecting the design against him, was on his guard, and would not move from the citadel; till at length Nujeef Khan finding Shaw Aulum much averse to the removal of the favourite, and his march from Dhely on his own affairs becoming urgent, he
affented

affented to his remaining in office, and a seeming reconciliation took place.

Not long after this, Shaw Aulum received an offer from Caufim Alee Khan, the fugitive navob of Bengal, who had come from Jeypore to the neighbourhood of Dhely, of seven lacks of rupees for the office held by Abdulahud Khan; but that minister, having intelligence of his schemes, procured an order to force him from the royal domains. It is suspected, that the emperor would have accepted the proposal, could he have done it without danger; but it is certain, that he strongly denied having listened to it, and laid the blame upon some of his servants, who were immediately dismissed, at the request of Abdulahud Khan. Caufim Alee died shortly after, at an obscure village near Dhely, unpitied even by his own family, for not even misfortune could soften the cruelty of his mind. He had been accompanied in his flight by several faithful dependants; but they were almost all in the end obliged to abandon him, his causeless jealousy of their sincerity exposing them to constant personal danger. Upon his escape from Shujah ad Dowlah at the battle of Buxar, he first retired into the Rohilla country, where he found a comfortable asylum; but his intrigues rendering him disagreeable to the chief under whose protection he resided, he was obliged to leave it, and took shelter with the rana of Ghoed. After some years residence in his country, he proceeded to * Jodepore, and from thence came to try his fortune in the service of the emperor, in which he met with the disappointment related. Caufim Alee Khan certainly possessed abilities. He would have been a serviceable minister to a prince within the line of finance; but for a sovereign station he was unfit, being cruel, meanly suspicious, and pusillanimous. In his prosperity, he forgot the friends who had given it him; and in his adverse fortune, he illused those who shared it with him. The English,

* Capital of the Marwar Rajahship.

English, deceived by his elegance of manners, which he possessed in a very eminent degree, and convinced of his skill in the finances of Bengal, (which province and its dependancies had fallen to their disposal, by the chance of war and inability of Meer Jaffier,) chose him for his successor; and from that instant he became their enemy, and impatient to cut off the hands which had exalted him. His jealousy of the English was not that of a great mind, which cannot bear an equal, but of a low cunning, feeling itself incapable of returning confidence for confidence, and therefore desirous of burying obligation in the destruction of his patrons. Had this not been the case, he would have relied on the promises of Mr. Vansittart, whose nobility of sentiment and liberality of heart were fully known to him, for the arrangement of connection between him and the English: but the wickedness of his own mind made him suspect others, and he fell deservedly from his high station.*

About this time, Sumroo, the bloody agent of Causim Alee's cruelty at Patna, having left the service of the Jauts, came to Dhely, and was entertained by the minister; but at the expiration of four months, Abdulahud Khan, fearful of exciting the resentment of the English, discharged him, and he was immediately retained by Nujeeb Khan, though he had remonstrated to the emperor on the impropriety of his accepting his services.

It may not be improper in this place to mention some particulars of Sumroo. His real name was Walter Reinehard, and he was of obscure parentage in the Electorate of Treves. He entered early as a common soldier into the service of the French, taking for his *Nom de Guerre*, Summer, which his comrades, from his saturnine complexion, turned into Sombre, and the Indians, by corruption, Sumroo. At length he repaired to Bengal,

* For Causim Alee's history, *vide* Transactions of Bengal, in this volume.

Bengal, and enlisted into one of the Swiss companies then employed at Calcutta; but at the end of eighteen days deserted to the French at Chandernagore, where he became a serjeant. Deserting this post, he fled into the upper provinces, and was for some time a private trooper in the cavalry of Suffder Jung, father to Shujah ad Dowlah. This service he quitted, and led a vagabond life in different provinces; but in 1760 was with the rebel fojedaur of Purnea. Upon his being expelled from Bengal, Sumroo left him, and entered into the service of Gregory, an Armenian, then in high favour with Causim Alee, and distinguished by the title of Goorgeen Khan. From him he had the command of a battalion of sepoy, and afterwards obtained from the navob the addition of another. In this station he massacred the English captives at Patna. Some time previous to the battle of Buxar, he treacherously deserted Causim Alee with his corps, and embraced the service of Shujah ad Dowlah, who had gained him over by bribes. Upon his defeat at Buxar, he was entrusted with the protection of the Begums, and remained with the vizier till he had made peace with the English; when, fearful of being delivered up to them, he retired to Agra, and entered into the pay of the Jaut raja, Jowahir Sing; but quitted him for the service of the raja of Jeypore, who soon dismissed him on a remonstrance from the English general. He then again served the Jauts; quitted them once more, and came to Dhely; from whence, as related, he followed the fortunes of Nujeef Khan, in whose service he died. Such are the outlines of the fortune of this man, who had some merit as a foldier, but wholly obscured by a treacherous and blood-thirsty disposition. His corps was continued after his death, in the name of his son and a favourite concubine, who received for their maintenance the sum of *sixty five thousand rupees per month.

Towards,

* Six thousand five hundred pounds.

Towards the latter end of the year 1774, Zabtah Khan, at the recommendation of Shujah ad Dowlah, who had deprived him of his territories east of the Ganges, notwithstanding his professions of friendship before the defeat of the Rohillas, was, to make some amends for the disappointment, called to Dhely, and restored to his farm of Mheerut and other districts, on condition of paying a revenue of nine lacks of rupees to the royal treasury.

In the month of January 1775, died the vizier Shujah ad Dowlah, in the midst of his victories and highest prosperity. He had planned the extension of his dominions over all the territory usurped by the Mharattas in the provinces of Malwa, Agra, and Bondelcund; and, had he lived a few years longer, there is little doubt, but that with the assistance of the English, he would have confined the Poonah government to their possessions south of the Nerbudda river; which would have been a blessing to the distracted empire of the Mahummedans in Hindoostan. In the early part of his life he was vain, and addicted to pleasure, for which he too much neglected public business; but on the recovery of his dominions after the battle of Buxar, he shewed that adversity had been to him a serviceable tutorefs, by bringing forth the better qualities of his mind into action. As a prince, he was wise, and dignified in character; as a private man, affable, humane and generous. In a situation, where the attainment of a splendid object too generally palliates the means of pursuit, however treacherous, and in a country where arts, common to all, are unhappily necessary for self-defence, his policy was less marked with blood than that of most princes who are esteemed in Hindoostan as deserving general applause. By his own subjects he was sincerely beloved; and even the sons of Hafiz Rhamut, whose country he had seized, wept at his death. Had he been placed among a

Vol. II. L 1 virtuous

virtuous people, he might have been a virtuous prince; and among those he was obliged to govern and contend with, he was eminently superior in every good quality.*

Shujah ad Dowlah was succeeded in territory by his eldest son, Asoph ad Dowlah; and upon his presenting a peshcush, or offering, and sending a general with five thousand men and some artillery to attend the emperor, was invested also with the office of vizier.

A. D. 1776. The troops sent by Asoph ad Dowlah reached Dhely at a time, important even to the personal safety of Shaw Aulum, the royal army having been just defeated by Zabtah Khan, who had refused paying the revenues of the districts of which he had the collection, and taken up arms to support his disobedience. The arrival of the vizier's troops alone prevented him from becoming master of Dhely and the fate of his sovereign. Zabtah Khan, however, by the mediation of Luttafut, Asoph ad Dowlah's general, who was bribed largely on the occasion, was again pardoned, his arrears remitted, and re-appointed to the trusts he had betrayed, Shaw Aulum having not resolution or power to refuse his assent.

A. D. 1777. This year the emperor, assisted by Nujeeb Khan, who had completed his conquests over the Jauts, marched once more against Zabtah Khan, who had again rebelled. The greatest part of his country was taken, but little advantage accrued to Shaw Aulum, most of the recovered districts being given by the general as securities for pay to the chiefs of different corps. The emperor kept the field from April to December; when, weary of being led as a pageant by Nujeeb Khan, who only used his authority

* An account of Shujah ad Dowlah's warfare with the English is given in the history of Bengal, in this volume.

authority to aggrandize himself, he returned in disgust to Dhely, and Nujeef Khan repaired to Agra, of which province he was now master, and kept up only a nominal allegiance to his sovereign.

No remarkable event occurred in the emperor's concerns till A. D. 1778, the conclusion of the rains this year; when some proposals being made by a Raajepoote chief, then at war with Nujeef Khan, the minister, * Mujd ad Dowlah, thinking them favourable to his views of humbling the latter, persuaded Shaw Aulum to take the field, under a pretence of a pilgrimage to ^b Ajmere, to cover the real object of the expedition from Nujeef Khan. The emperor, accordingly, moved by slow marches to Narnoul, about fifty coss from Dhely, which he reached near the close of the year. By this time, the raja, to assist whom the campaign was made, being taken prisoner, Mujd ad Dowlah changing his object, employed the royal force to share the advantages of his destruction with Nujeef Khan. Several districts were seized, and the minister now thought seriously of leading his master to Ajmere, and exacting a tribute from the raja of Jeypore in the route. Nujeef Khan was summoned to attend the royal standard, though, probably, his presence was not desired by Mujd ad Dowlah. In January 1779, the royal army arrived near Jeypore, and the minor raja, lately acceded to the musnud by the death of his uncle, was summoned to attend the emperor. The regent was embarrassed how to act; not chusing to trust the royal minister, who had taken many of the Raajepoote chiefs, his enemies, into pay; nor did he wish to exasperate the emperor by disrespect. In this dilemma, he sought the patronage of Nujeef Khan, who willingly gave it him, being

L 1 2

desirous

* Abdulahud Khan, who had received this title, signifying, Exalter of the state.

^b At this city is the tomb of a celebrated Mahummedan saint.

desirous of depriving Mujd ad Dowlah of the credit and advantage of an influence in Jeypore, on which he had views of his own. The minister was amused, by promises from the regent of coming to an interview, till Nujeef Khan joined the royal camp, when the raja declared his wishes of having him only for his mediator with the emperor. Mujd ad Dowlah dared not refuse, as Nujeef Khan was superior in force; and Shaw Aulum consented from the same cause. Eight lacks of rupees were settled for the offering, of which two only were paid to the royal treasury; but Nujeef Khan obtained a much larger sum, besides the advantage which the credit of his superiority over Mujd ad Dowlah gave him in the eyes of the Raajepootes. Nor was this all; the districts taken by the royal army being resigned to him and his friends, for which he gave up a tract near Dhely, less convenient and beneficial to his government. At his request, the pilgrimage was laid aside, and the emperor returned to his capital after a tiresome campaign; which had only served to bring fresh insults on his authority, from the weakness of Mujd ad Dowlah and the ingratitude of Nujeef Khan.

A.D. 1779.

The royal army had scarce returned to Dhely, when the minister again resolved to take the field, and prevailed on the emperor to send with him his second son, the prince * Ferkhundeh Akhter. Great preparations were made, which took up several months, and excited the attention of the public. Various were the reports of his intentions. At one time, it was supposed he had entered into negotiations of alliance with the Mharattas, who had defeated the English army from Bombay, and threatened to attack them in Oude and Bengal. At another, it was rumoured that the royal army was to be joined by the Siks, and to fall on Nujeef Khan for his neglect of the emperor. At length,

* Of auspicious stars.

length, in the month of June 1779, Muid ad Dowlah with his royal pupil moved from Dhely, and advanced to Panniput, with six battalions of sepoys armed in the European manner, a considerable train of artillery, six thousand horse, eight thousand irregular infantry, and some bands of mercenary Siks; so that, in point of numbers, his army was formidable, and, with conduct on his part, equal to the conquests of the petty chiefs in his route, whom he might chuse to attack. On his march he seized a zemindar, named Daifoo Sing, from whom he exacted about two lacks of rupees, and then proceeded towards Puttiala, the residence of Amer Sing, ninety coss north-west of Dhely, who had usurped a considerable territory. He was commanded to join the royal army, and pay a compensation for the revenue of the country; which at first he promised, and a negotiation was begun to settle the sum; but the wily zemindar was insincere, and only wanted to gain time, till he should be assisted by the Siks from the province of Lahore, who had promised to protect him, as his reduction would have exposed them to invasion from the royal army. After some days, Amer Sing, joined by many of his allies, threw off the mask, and the Siks in the service of the minister deserted to him, not chusing to fight against their brethren. Muid ad Dowlah, instead of acting with resolution, would not try the event of persistence in his demands, but began his retreat towards Panniput; to which place he was followed by Amer Sing and the Siks, who harassed his line of march daily, and plundered his baggage, but could make no impression on the main body of his army; a proof that had he acted vigorously, a different fate would have attended his expedition.

The emperor, alarmed at the retreat of his minister, and dreading the event of the army coming to Dhely and demanding their arrears of pay, wrote pressingly to Nujeeb Khan, imploring

ploring his assistance, and desiring him to take the administration of affairs upon himself. Nujeef Khan, who had long wished for such an opportunity of ruining the minister, and had, it is said, privately negotiated with the Siks and Amer Sing, hastened to Dhely with his army. Muid ad Dowlah, upon his arrival at the capital, was disgraced and committed to the custody of his rival, who confiscated the greatest part of his effects, a share of which he gave up to the emperor.

From this period till the death of Nujeef Khan, Shaw Aulum remained under his controul, a pensioner on his bounty, without the least power of royalty beyond the granting of empty titles, and the ratification of the acts of his minister; who so abused his authority, that the wretched emperor frequently wanted for conveniences, and the women of the haram, and numerous confined personages of the blood-royal, often the common necessities of life.

Nujeef Khan was now at the height of his power and ambition, possessing the sole authority at Dhely, with the greatest part of that province, and the very extensive one of Agra, together with that capital. The raja of Jeypore, and several other Hindoo princes also were his tributaries. Next to the vizier, he was the first officer of the empire, being appointed ameer al amra, with the title of *Zoolfeccar ad Dowlah. After his arrival at Dhely, he lost the energy of his former character, and indulged in voluptuousness so much, that it injured his constitution; which he strove to repair for the gratification of appetite, by stimulating confections. These soon brought on a complication of disorders, which put an end to his life on the twenty second of April, 1782, in the forty ninth year of his age.

Nujeef

* Sword of the state.

Nujeef Khan was born in Persia, of a family said to be related to the Suffewee sovereigns of that empire; and in his infancy was, with many of his relations, a prisoner to the usurper Nadir Shaw, who kept all the personages, any way allied to the throne, in confinement for his own security. At the request of Meerza Mhofun, the brother of Suffder Jung, who was sent on an embassy to Nadir by Mahummud Shaw, after his invasion of Hindoostan, Nujeef Khan and a sister much older than himself were released. The lady married her deliverer, and Nujeef Khan accompanied her and her husband to Dhely. He was treated with parental affection by Meerza Mhofun, and at his death attached himself to Mahummud Koollee Khan, his son, the governor of Aleabad, who was shortly after seized and put to death by his first cousin, Shujah ad Dowlah, he being jealous of his ambitious views in assisting Shaw Aulum in the invasion of Bengal, and regarding Aleabad as his right, it having been given only in deputation by his father, the vizier Suffder Jung, to Mahummud Koollee Khan, who had refused to surrender it to the son. Nujeef Khan, upon this event, retired with a few followers into Bengal, and offered his services to the navob Meer Caufim, then at war with the English, who gave him great encouragement. When Meer Caufim took refuge with Shujah ad Dowlah, Nujeef Khan, not chusing to trust himself in the power of the latter, repaired to Bondelcund, and served Gomaun Sing, one of the chiefs of that country. Upon the flight of Shujah ad Dowlah, after the battle of Buxar, he offered his services to the English, representing himself as the rightful lord of the province of Aleabad, was received with respectful welcome, and even put into possession of a part of it; but when peace was concluded with the vizier, the English, discovering the falsehood of his claim, set it aside, and rewarded his attachment with a pension of two lacks of rupees and strong recommendations to the emperor. The recompense was greater than

than his merits with the English, as he had kept up a correspondence with Shujah ad Dowlah, whom he would have joined, had he been successful in the battle of Korah. From Aleabad he accompanied Shaw Aulum to Dhely, where the various turns of his fortune have been already related in the preceding pages.

Nujeef Khan possessed great personal courage, and a fortitude and presence of mind not to be overcome by the greatest distress, or the most sudden misfortune. His affability of manners was such, as to charm even hunger to be patient in his service, and overcome the mutinous resolutions of his troops, often driven to extreme necessity for want of regular pay. He was once, after the reduction of a capital fortress from the Jauts, (from which his army had hoped to receive the advantage of a liquidation of their long arrears) seized upon by the troops, menaced with death, and exposed bare-headed for a whole day to the sun, in the hottest season of Hindoostan; a most severe punishment. But this, and the apprehensions of immediate death, did not move the calmness of his mind. He soothed the most morose of the mutineers with his eloquence, and diverted them from their purpose by his humorous remarks upon his own situation and their conduct; till, at length, they were contented with a part of their demands, and continued to serve him in hopes of better times. It is said, that no person ever went away dissatisfied from Nujeef Khan, who, if he could not grant a request, would convince the petitioner of his sorrow at his being obliged to refuse it. His expenses always exceeded his income, and this obliged him to mortgage his revenues in assignment to the officers of his army for pay; so that his country was never completely settled under his own controul, but always passing from one chief to another, who made his own statement with the farmers. As he never refused offers of service from any military adventurers, this evil continually

tinually encreased, and he did not live long enough after his conquests to correct the abuse by a settled form of government, and a reduction of force adequate to his finances. It is probable, had Nujeef Khan been placed at the head of an established government, he would have been an amiable and great prince; and in the situation he filled, his character draws admiration,^a when his disadvantages are liberally considered.

Upon the death of Nujeef Khan, the illconstructed fabric of his government soon fell to pieces from the dissensions of his adherents; while Shaw Aulum, as usual, sanctified from necessity the actions of the successful party. Affrafioub Khan, an adopted son of the deceased, was first appointed ameer al amra, and, at his request, Muid ad Dowlah released from confinement; but his power did not last long. Nujeef Khan's sister, who had great influence with the army, being disgusted at his behaviour, invited Meerza Shuffee Khan, a near relation of her own, to Dhely, and offered him the infant daughter of her deceased brother in marriage; also, to procure for him from the emperor the administration of affairs, and the honours of Nujeef Khan.

Meerza Shuffee, who was then on an expedition against the Siks to the northward of the capital, readily embraced the Begum's invitation, and repaired to court; which Affrafioub Khan deserted on his approach, leaving Muid ad Dowlah and ^bNujeef Koollee Khan to oppose him. It would appear that Shaw Aulum was unwilling to grant Meerza Shuffee the administration of affairs,

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for

^a Nujeef Khan, in palliating the delays of payment to his troops, was often obliged to make excuses not consistent with truth. An officer one day told him he had met fifty carriages coming to the camp; and What were their contents? said Nujeef Khan. Lies for your use in this campaign, returned the officer. A poor supply, indeed, replied Nujeef Khan; they will scarce equal the disbursement of a single day.

^b Also an adopted son of Nujeef Khan's.

for he did not admit him to the presence till he had seized the two chiefs above-mentioned, when, unable to refuse his demands, he appointed him ameer al amra.

Meerza Shuffee having thus forced himself into office, treated Shaw Aulum with little respect; and the oppressed monarch, weary of the indignities daily offered him, made an attempt to free himself from his controul, and restore Affrafioub Khan. Monsieur Pawly, who commanded Sumroo's battalions, and Lutafut, a eunuch, at the head of a considerable body of sepoys, with other chiefs, were drawn over from the interest of Meerza Shuffee by Mahummud Yacoob Khan, the emperor's confidant. They assembled suddenly under arms at the palace, where Shaw Aulum putting himself at their head, marched towards the residence of Meerza Shuffee, intending to seize his person. The ameer al amra endeavoured to draw out his followers, but they refused to act, and he with difficulty made his escape from the city. Shaw Aulum, satisfied with his expulsion, declined pursuing the fugitive; though his eldest son, the prince Jehaundar Shaw, represented justly, that unless his person and that of the Begum were secured, and their wealth seized, the royal intentions would be left uncompleted, as Meerza Shuffee would be joined by his troops when recovered from the panic which the suddenness of this attempt had inspired. To account for the inaction of the emperor at this crisis, is impossible. It can only be supposed, that he dreaded treachery from the chiefs who had advised him to expel the minister.

Meerza Shuffee, as had been foretold by the prince, was rejoined by most of the troops, and assisted by Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee, a powerful chief of the late Nujeef Khan, returned towards Dhely, resolved to force the emperor to restore him to office.

Monfieur

Monfieur Pawly and Luttafut, upon intelligence of this junction, prevailed upon Shaw Aulum to encamp at Khizzerabad, a short distance from Dhely, intending to make a stand against the enemy; but Meerza Shuffee offering to make concessions to his majesty, a negotiation commenced, and Pawly and Luttafut were invited to a meeting with the rebels, in order to settle the terms of their submission to the emperor, but in fact of his to them.

The prince Jehaundar Shaw now again cautioned his father against making terms with the rebels; but in vain. In his narrative, given by himself to Mr. Hastings, he says; "I from
"loyalty observed, that in such quarrels there was no room
"for peace; that the force with his majesty was more than
"equal to crush them."

Pawly and Luttafut declined following the advice of the prince, accepted the invitation of Meerza Shuffee Khan, and, upon entering his camp, were taken prisoners. The former was put to death, and the latter punished by the loss of his eyes. Meerza Shuffee now exacted what demands he pleased from Shaw Aulum, who re-appointed him ameer al amra, and, at his recommendation, Muid ad Dowlah, who had found means to make his peace, was once more restored to his office of ^bdewan of the khalifeh.

Soon after this commotion, Meerza Shuffee, leaving Muid ad Dowlah to act for him with the emperor, marched from Dhely to restore order in the province of Agra, and took with him Meerza Soleymaun Shekoh, one of the princes, to add dignity to his operations. Shaw Aulum was left in the possession of the lands allotted for the support of his household by the late

M m 2

Nujeef

* Director of the revenue set apart for the support of the household.

Nujeef Khan; so that, considering the part he had taken against his minister, that chief did not act ungenerously towards him. Affrafiaub Khan, who had marched to take advantage of the designs in his favour, politically kept at a distance, till convinced of the superiority of Meerza Shuffee; when he joined him, and was left unmolested in possession of the districts allotted him under the late Nujeef Khan.

Meerza Shuffee was not a man calculated to retrieve the disorder which had occurred in affairs since the death of his predecessor. He was destitute of that address and affability of manner, by which Nujeef Khan had attached to himself the officers of his army, each of whom considered himself as independent. Mahummud Beg Khan Hammadaunee in particular, who had so greatly assisted in establishing him in power, was disgusted at the superiority he assumed over him, and with his refusal of some additional districts which he demanded. The Begum also, sister of Nujeef Khan, was displeased with him for not allowing her that influence in government which she had enjoyed in the lifetime of her brother. The short period of his administration passed in constant quarrels with his officers; and at length Mahummud Beg, who regarded not by what means he forwarded his views, resolved to remove him by treachery. For this purpose, he pretended a wish to reconcile their differences, by an amicable adjustment, and requested an interview, to which Meerza Shuffee Khan assented. They met before the fortress of Deeg, on the thirtieth of September, 1783, each attended by an army, and Meerza Shuffee was stabbed by Ismaeel Beg, the brother of Mahummud, while he was embracing him. An engagement between the two armies followed, and Mahummud Beg was driven from the field with some loss. Affrafiaub Khan was declared successor to the murdered nabob, by the sister Begum and the army, and was shortly after confirmed

firmed by the emperor in the office of ameer al amra and the government of the provinces of Dhely and Agra. Mahummud Beg, however, refused to acknowledge his authority, levied troops to oppose him, and committed depredations in several districts. Affrafiaub, finding himself unequal to support his power alone, endeavoured to procure the assistance of his neighbours, the navob vizier and the English, or the Mharattas. In this unsettled state of affairs, the prince Jehaundar Shaw, in April 1784, made his escape from Dhely, and repaired to Lucnow, where Mr. Hastings had arrived to regulate the concerns between the vizier and the company. His highness's object was, to procure a force to free his father the emperor from the controul in which he was kept by Affrafiaub Khan, and to oblige him to allot a portion of the revenues for the support of the royal dignity. He declared, that his escape was with the private concurrence of his father, and most probably with truth, though publickly Shaw Aulum demanded his being sent back a prisoner to Dhely, obliged to it through fear of his minister. Mr. Hastings was too generous to obey commands, which, if complied with, would have sacrificed an unfortunate prince to life imprisonment, if not assassination. Though restricted by his employers from taking an active part in the royal affairs, he hoped, by protecting the prince, to persuade Affrafiaub to shew proper respect to the imperial family; and his plan in some measure succeeded. The ameer al amra sent major Brown, the English resident at Dhely, to Lucnow, with offers to comply with any terms the navob vizier and Mr. Hastings should stipulate for the advantage of the emperor; and agreed to act under the prince as minister, provided they would support him with some troops against Mahummud Beg and other refractory chiefs; representing, that if they could not grant that condition, he must seek an alliance with Sindia, the Mharatta chief, who was ready to enter the country. Mr. Hastings was unable to furnish troops,
the

the council of Bengal refusing to take any active part beyond the frontiers of the vizier; and Affrasiub, consequently, made his alliance with Sindia.

Previous to the return of major Brown from Lucnow, Affrasiub, jealous of Mujd ad Dowlah, whom he had left to manage the affairs of the royal household, confined that minister, and prevailed upon Shaw Aulum to march to Agra, by promises of giving up that city with the fortress to his disposal. The emperor, flattered by the hopes of acquiring more power, or intimidated by the confinement of his old adviser, Mujd ad Dowlah, left Dhely, and arrived at Agra in October 1784; when the golden keys of the citadel were presented to him by Affrasiub, and he had the satisfaction of being called King of the World, in the palace of his ancestor, the renowned Akber; but it was garrisoned by the troops of the minister. Mr. Hastings had by this time departed from Lucnow, and was accompanied by the prince to Banaras, which he chose for his residence, not thinking it safe to trust his person with Affrasiub or Sindia; a recommendation to whom of his interests, was now the only service that the English could afford him beyond their own territories. He had an allowance of ^a five lacks of rupees per annum from the navob vizier, and wisely resolved to wait for better times. Shaw Aulum remained in the hands of his minister.

On the twenty second of October 1784, Affrasiub had an interview with his new ally Mahajee Sindia; when it was agreed, that they should jointly attack Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee; but their plans were frustrated by an unfortunate event. On Tuesday, the second of November, Affrasiub Khan was assassinated

^a Fifty thousand pounds. This allowance was given at the earnest request of Mr. Hastings.

ated by a soldier, said to be employed by Zien-al-aub-ad-Dien the brother of the late Meerza Shuffee Khan, and Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee, who dreaded the power which Sindia's alliance would give to the object of their hatred. This event occasioned a new revolution in affairs, by transferring the authority of the Moguls to the Mharattas.

Sindia, by presents of some money, promises of obedience, and a regular allowance for the royal household, prevailed on Shaw Aulum to come to his camp, and bestow upon the * peshwa the office of vaqueel muttulluk, or sole director of the empire, with the deputation of this employment to himself. Under this grant, he claimed the command of the army of the unfortunate Affrafioub, and the governments of Agra and Dhely. As he was at the head of a large body of Mharattas, and the Mogul chiefs could not agree among themselves in the choice of a successor, he easily effected his designs. The different officers of corps made their own terms with Sindia, pretending to obey the orders of the emperor; and Mahummud Beg also acknowledged his authority. Shujah Dil Khan, the father in law of Affrafioub, gave up the fortress of Agra, after a short siege, for a jaghire, and assurances of a provision for the son of the deceased, his grandson, an infant, named Khadim Houssein Khan. Shaw Aulum was now permitted to return to Dhely. Sixty thousand rupees per month were settled by Sindia for his support; but a body of Mharattas was stationed with him, to prevent him encouraging any other power; so that, in fact, he was only a state prisoner in the hands of Sindia.

Shaw Aulum did not remain long at Dhely, being again requested by Sindia to take the field, to sanction, by his appearance, the capture of Aleeghur, the residence of the Begum of

* Chief minister of the Mharatta state.

of Affrafiab Khan. Jahaungeer Khan, the governor, after some time, submitted. By the fall of Aleeghur, the authority of Sindia was established in all the territories which had belonged to the late ameer al amra, Nujeef Khan. He now demanded tribute from several rajas, and among them from the raja of Jeypore, towards whose country he marched with the emperor. Negotiation and threatenings employed several months, till the approach of the rainy season of 1786, when Shaw Aulum returned to Dhely, and Sindia with his army cantoned at Muttra. The acquisitions of the Mharattas, by their interference with the Moguls, were however more splendid than useful; the provinces of Dhely and Agra being exhausted of revenue by the oppressions of the late contending chiefs; so that Sindia began to find himself in a troublesome situation. Long arrears were due to the troops, and his resources were unequal to his disbursements.

A. D. 1787. Towards the latter end of the year 1787, a considerable body of Mharattas, under Royjee Pateel, who had been sent to collect a tribute from the raja of Jeypore, being defeated, Sindia marched with his whole army into that country, and advanced within a short distance of the capital. The raja, being assisted by the chief of Jodepore and other allies, distressed his enemy by cutting off his supplies; so that both Mharattas and Moguls became discontented, and Mahummud Beg Hammadaunee with his followers deserted to the raja. In this conjuncture, Sindia resolved to make a push, lest the defection should become general. A severe action took place, and Mahummud Beg was slain; but the valour and conduct of his brother Ismaeel Beg restored the courage of the troops, which had given way from the loss of their chief, and victory declared for the Raajepootes. Three days after this event, Sindia was deserted by the disciplined battalions of sepoy, who went over to Ismaeel Beg.

Beg. This misfortune was followed by repeated defeats, which obliged him to retreat with precipitation across the Chumbul, to the neighbourhood of Gualior, and quit for the present all offensive operations; leaving garrisons in the citadel of Agra and fortrefs of Aleeghur, in hopes of their holding out till he could obtain reinforcements from Dekkan. Deeg and some other places he gave up to the Jaut raja, Runjeet Sing, to whom they originally belonged, that he might keep up an interest among the natives of the country.

The evacuation of the provinces of Dhely and Agra by the Mharatta army, occasioned a sad change in the royal affairs. Shaw Aulum, the pageant of every successful party, marched from Dhely at the invitation of the raja of Jeypore, who advanced within three days' journey of the capital to pay his respects; but whether he was unwilling to engage in the administration of the royal concerns, intimidated by fears of the return of the Mharattas, or resolved only to act for the preservation of his own country, he in a short time obtained his dismissal, and withdrew to his own territories. Shaw Aulum returned to Dhely, where he hoped to remain secure, and unengaged with party, till Sindia's return with a reinforcement, or a decided superiority of his enemies. Unhappy indeed was his situation, and hard the part he had to act. In the hands of a Mharatta garrison in his capital, and depending for support on Sindia, he was obliged, at the same time, to lend his name to his enemy Ismaeel Beg; who, after defeating the Mharattas in the field, had taken several places from them, and laid siege to Agra, under pretence of the imperial orders.

At this crisis started up a new adventurer, the most fatal one of any to the unfortunate Shaw Aulum. * Gholaum Kaudir
VOL. II. N n Khan,

* This chief was son and successor to Zabtah Khan, often mentioned in the preceding pages.

Khan, a Rohilla chief, hoping to acquire power in the distracted state of affairs, marched suddenly from his residence of Ghoseghur, and appeared before Dhely, which the Mharatta garrison evacuated on his approach. He obliged the emperor to confer on him the dignity of ameer al amra; after which he moved to lay siege to the fortress of Aleeghur, where Sindia had left a garrison.

The prince Jehaundar Shaw, who had resided since the year 1784 at Banaras, under the English protection, was at this time also resolved to try his fortune in the troubles. He marched to Dhely, and was joined on his route by some thousands of adventurers. On his arrival at the capital he was received with much favour by his father, who empowered him to direct the operations of Gholaum Kaudir Khan; and the prince, after obtaining the release of his women and children, who had been confined since his flight, repaired to the siege of Aleeghur. He was soon disgusted with the brutal disrespect of the Rohilla, and repaired to Agra, in hopes of finding a better servant in Ismaeel Beg, but was disappointed. The money he had brought with him from Banaras being exhausted, his followers became clamorous for pay, and the unhappy prince at length was obliged to divide among them his effects. Not chusing to return to Dhely, lest the influence of his brother Akber Shaw, the favourite son of Shaw Aulum, should prevail on his father to confine him in his unprotected state, he threw himself again on the generosity of the English. They again received him, and he repaired once more to Banaras, but did not long survive his return. About a week after his arrival he was seized with a putrid fever, occasioned by exposing himself for some hours to a burning sun in a visit of devotion to the tomb of a celebrated Mahummedan saint at Chunar, and died on the thirty first of May, 1788, after an illness of
little

little more than twenty four hours. He was buried with every honour due to his rank; the English resident and principal people of the city attending his funeral. He left behind him three sons, whom, with the rest of his family, he recommended to the care of the English, under whom they enjoy a comfortable asylum and allowance at Banaras.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan, on the fall of Aleeghur, marched to join Ismaeel Beg in the siege of Agra; but they soon disagreeing, he left him to make conquests for himself in other parts of the country. By this time Sindia had received some succours from Dekkan, and dispatched his confidential minister, Rana Khan, with the Jaut rajah, Runjeet Sing, to raise the siege of Agra, near which a bloody battle was fought on the sixteenth of June, 1788, in which Ismaeel Beg was compleatly defeated, with the loss of all his cannon, baggage, and stores. He made his escape with much difficulty, by swimming his horse across the Jumna, and reached the camp of Gholaum Kaudir Khan; but, not finding a kind reception, in a few days he retired to Shekohabad, where he was respectfully treated by Illummas Alee Khan, a collector of the navob vizier, who presented him with the sum of ^a twenty thousand rupees. Being here joined by about fifteen hundred of his routed cavalry, and receiving letters from Gholaum Kaudir Khan, assuring him of future friendship, and apologizing for his late neglect, he repaired to his camp. The rajas of Jeypore and Jodepore, whose interest it was to keep up an enemy to the Mharattas, now sent him a sum of money, which enabled him to receive numbers of his followers, who returned to his standard. An invitation was sent him by the navob Nazir, and the few chiefs with Shaw Aulum to march to Dhely, which he accepted of; but, on his arrival near the city, the emperor, who wished to avoid offending Sindia by receiving

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^a Two thousand pounds.

ceiving his enemy, refused to admit him, and sent him orders to retire. Ismaeel Beg pretended to obey, but did not move, waiting the arrival of Gholaum Kaudir Khan, who was on his march to the capital, with the intention of forcing Shaw Aulum to give up his connection with the Mharattas. To this he was instigated by the navob Nazir and other officers, who, having offended Sindia, dreaded his displeasure, should the emperor fall again into his hands. The supineness of the Mharattas after their defeat of Ismaeel Beg, is not to be accounted for. Instead of marching immediately to Dhely, Sindia only advanced to Muttra; so that the unfortunate Shaw Aulum was left exposed to the treachery of his servants, and, in the end, to dethronement, plunder, and loss of fight.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan, on his arrival opposite Dhely, requested the emperor to admit him into the city, but was refused; upon which he resolved to enter it by force; and, having brought over Ismaeel Beg to his views, crossed the Jumna in the night, with a part of his army. Raja Himmud Bahadur, and the few Mharattas in the place, fled immediately, and the Mogul chiefs, with their followers in the emperor's service, joined Ismaeel Beg; so that the unhappy Shaw Aulum, unable to resist, was obliged to open the gates of the citadel, and receive the rebels. They were introduced by the navob Nazir, who answered for their fidelity to his majesty, and that they would free him from the controul of the Mharattas, and the disgrace of depending for a support on infidels and natural enemies to the faithful. Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg, falling at the emperor's feet, assured him, their only object was his honour, and the expulsion of the Mharattas; which they promised to effect, if one of the princes was permitted to accompany them to the field. A treaty was then drawn up, and solemnly ratified by oaths in one of the mosques in the palace, by which it was stipulated, that Shaw Aulum should receive

receive a third part of the revenues for the support of his dignity. The emperor then committed his son Soleymaun Shekkoh to their care, and a day was fixed for his march against the Mharattas; but this adjustment was deceitful. In a few days, Gholaum Kaudir demanded a large sum of money to pay the troops, which Shaw Aulum refused; and the Rohilla resolved to possess himself of whatever treasure might be in the palace, by dethroning the emperor. To this resolve he was excited by the treacherous navob * Nazir, who, forgetting thirty years of confidence and favour, had informed him that his master possessed hoards of treasure and jewels, though he pretended inability to satisfy the troops.

The degraded and wretched situation of the once august family of Timur, will appear more fully, in the translation of a journal of the monstrous transactions of the unfeeling Gholaum Kaudir, from the dethronement of Shaw Aulum, to the flight from the city of that cruel traitor.

JOURNAL, JULY 26th.

A. D. 1788.

1202

About seven in the morning, Meerza Ismaeel Beg with his officers and Meerza Muttullub Khan, repaired to Gholaum Kaudir, who was seated in the hall of private audience; and, after some conversation, sent repeated demands of money from the emperor, through the navob Nazir. Meerza Muttullub observed, that had his majesty possessed such a considerable sum, his affairs would not have fallen into such extremity. He was commanded to be silent by Gholaum Kaudir; who, at length sent two attendants to bring Bedar Bukht, son of the emperor Ahmed Shaw. This prince being conducted into the oratory, was seated on the throne, and the customary salutations of royalty made to him by the chiefs. Gholaum Kaudir then dispatched Shaw Aulum, with nineteen princes,

* The Nazir is the superintendant of the private apartments, always a eunuch.

princes, his sons and grandsons, under a guard to the apartment called Noor Mahal. After this a dispute arose between Gholauum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg, concerning the latter's remaining in the palace; and Ismaeel Beg at length departed in wrath to his camp.

Saturday,
July 27th,
1788.

Bedar Shaw received the compliments of the officers, and ordered several of the deposed emperor's servants into confinement. Soleymaun Shekkoh was brought from the camp, and imprisoned with his father, who was this day denied even water by Gholauum Kaudir. The ministers of the general mosque requested to know in the name of what emperor the prayers were to be read; and the Rohilla answered, "In the name of God and his prophet." He this day sent for the aged princesses, ^a Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, from their house in the city. On their arrival in the palace, he paid his respects, and told them the private apartments of the haram should be under their direction. They approved of his conduct, but warned him not to act in such a manner as to draw the scorn of mankind. He replied, that, under the royal auspices, the empire would be properly regulated. The ladies of Shaw Aulum's family represented, that for two days they had been without food. He ordered them victuals.

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^a These ladies were the widows of Mahummud Shaw, and the former was daughter to the emperor Ferokhsere. When Ahmed Shaw Abdallee invaded Hindoostan, they accompanied him on his return to his own territories, and resided in his court till his death; when they came back to Dhely, and were allowed by Shaw Aulum to reside out of the palace in the city. It is supposed they possessed great wealth; as both Nadir Shaw and Ahmed Shaw Abdallee in their invasions paid them respect, and left their property unmolested; but it now fell into the hands of Gholauum Kaudir. It is said, they prompted him to depose Shaw Aulum, by an offer of ten lacks of rupees, to place on the throne Bedar Shaw, the grandson of their husband, by a public dancer. If this report is true, their misfortunes are less pitiable, as Shaw Aulum had always treated them with attention and respect during his whole reign.

This day, the princess Mallekeh Zummaneh, assisted by the navob Nazir, searched the apartments of fourteen of Shaw Aulum's women, and ordered all their money and effects to be collected in the oratory; after which they delivered them to Gholaum Kaudir Khan. The effects of Meerza Akber Shaw were confiscated. Bedar Shaw conferred the rank of ameer al amra on Gholaum Kaudir Khan. Information was lodged, that Meerza Mindoo had privately conveyed fourteen cakes of bread and some water to Shaw Aulum. The merciless Rohilla ordered the benevolent prince to be beaten with clubs; but the attendants refused obedience. Mallekeh Zummaneh sent to Shaw Aulum, desiring him to give up his buried treasures, and he should be reinstated on his throne. He replied, he was weary of such empire. Agga Sundal complained to Bedar Shaw of the distressed situation of the deposed sovereign and his family, perishing with hunger. The Shaw gave him five rupees. The Agga observed, the sum was insufficient for such a number, even for a meal. Bedar assured him he had no more money in his possession.

July 28th.

To-day, a quarrel occurred between Bedar Shaw and the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, who threatened to leave the palace; observing, that they had seen four reigns, and been independant of all; had come from their houses to serve his family, but would return, and commit him wholly to the pleasure of Gholaum Kaudir. This silenced the Shaw. Bedar this day sent to Soleymaun Shekkoh and Akber Shaw, assuring them they should not want while he could relieve them, but that they must be reconciled to the decrees of providence, and consider, that their father had reigned thirty years, while his suffered the distress they now complained of. Gholaum Kaudir Khan, having prepared five whips, obliged the fultan

July 29th.

fultan to take one in his hands, and accompany him to extort a confession of his treasures from Shaw Aulum.

July 30th.

This day, the apartments of Shawabadee Begum were searched, and a casket of jewels, some strings of pearl, and gold and silver plate, being found, were delivered to Gholaum Kaudir; who also seized ninety nine horses from the royal stables. Thirty thousand rupees were found buried in the floor of a room, besides some plate. The Rohilla sent the latter to the mint, and commanded coins to be struck in the name of Bedar Shaw, with the following inscription:

“ The supporter of the true religion of Mahummud, Bedar Shaw, by the grace of God stamped coins throughout the world.”

To-day, five rupees, a bed, and a carpet, were sent by Gholaum Kaudir to the unfortunate Shaw Aulum. Several ladies of the haram were tied up and beaten with whips, to force a discovery of their effects; and the palace was filled with cries and lamentations. Except the garments they had on, every thing was seized.

July 31st.

Gholaum Kaudir agreed to give Ismaeel Beg five lacks of rupees from the plunder of the palace. Several of the confined princes were insulted by blows; and seven bankers and corn-merchants seized and imprisoned to extort money from them.

August 1st,
1788.

The navob Nazir and the eunuchs represented to the emperor, that they had by severe chastisement extorted a discovery from some of the ladies of the haram of a quantity of gold and silver plate, with some jewels. He ordered them to be sent to Gholaum Kaudir. Meerza Buddoo, an ancient prince, uncle
to

to Shaw Aulum, was seized by the Rohilla, and a demand made of a lack of rupees. Pleading inability, he was delivered to the peons to be flogged. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir went to Shaw Aulum, and threatened him. The unhappy prince replied, "What I had, you have taken; but, if you think I "conceal some treasures within me, rip up my bowels, and "be convinced." The traitor then assured him, if he would discover his hoards, he should reascend his throne. Shaw Aulum answered, "I have no ambition left; may God protect you, who have laid me aside: I am content with my "fate." The Rohilla then proceeded to the apartments of the brothers of Shaw Aulum, and threatened them with punishment. Four trunks of wearing apparel, a few trifling jewels, and a silver bedstead only, were found in them on the strictest search. The navob Nazir repents, now too late, of his conduct; and will have more cause every day. Ismaeel Beg is treating with Sindia, who has promised to give him a jaghire and command in his army.

To-day, persons were sent to dig up the floors of the apartments of Meerza Buddoo. Some jewels, plate, and wearing apparel, were found. The prince and his family were ordered to be kept without food; but at the earnest intercession of Meerza Hinga, uncle to Bedar Shaw, it was allowed them. Gholaum Kaudir to-day roughly demanded from the emperor the whole sum he had promised for his throne. Bedar Shaw said, "He had given every thing as yet discovered, and desired the "jewels might be valued." The Rohilla replied, "Jewels "were to him of no value; he must have money, or plate "to coin." A message coming from the princess Mallekeh Zummaneh, that she wished to see him, he would not go, but abused her to the eunuchs who brought the compliment. Bedar Shaw entreated him to be pacified, and every exertion should

August 2d.

be used to procure money. The fultan would have embraced him, but the wretch drew back, and retired in displeasure; after which he sent a band of Afghauns to guard the royal person and extort money. They threatened to pull Bedar Shaw from his throne, and correct him with blows; upon which he exclaimed, "If this is empire, the scanty meal I enjoyed when "among the confined princes, was sweet indeed." The Afghauns ordered him to be silent, saying, "They had ruined "Shaw Aulum in an instant, and what was he better than "him." Guards were also placed over the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal; and Gholaum Kaudir informed them, "that as the world would now at any rate call him "traitor, he was resolved to seize the whole property of the "royal family." The navob Nazir trembles for his safety, and has discharged his attendants. Seven lacks of rupees are demanded from him.

August 3d. To-day, Gholaum Kaudir Khan *seated himself in the presence of Bedar Shaw, and smoked his hookah before him; stretching out his feet on the royal musnud, at the same time insulting him by abusive language.

August 4th. Bedar Shaw sent a note by the Nazir to Gholaum Kaudir, requesting him to have the jewels valued, but he refused; demanding six lacks in money, and would not suffer the Nazir to return. The emperor sending him two garlands of flowers, he threw them on the ground in disrespect. The Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal have discharged their households. Ruttun Ram advising Bedar Shaw to send a khe-laut to the navob vizier, he said, "I have none but this old "garment on my body."

Gholaum

* The highest disrespect he could be guilty of to the sovereign.

Gholaum Kaudir Khan to-day forced the doors of the royal baths; and finding two silver chairs, sent them to the mint. The apartments and effects of Meerza Akber Shaw were ransacked. Thirty two elephants and one hundred horses from the royal stables were sent to the Rohilla camp. A request of Shaw Aulum for some foot cloths was complied with. August 5th.

The thrones and other seats belonging to Shaw Aulum, ornamented with gold or silver, were broken to pieces, and the plate sent to the mint. Gholaum Kaudir seized the clothes and ornaments of fifty or sixty dancing girls belonging to the palace. On their complaining of his oppression, he commanded them to sing and dance, and being pleased with their performance, gave them back their clothes, but kept their jewels, and turned them out of the citadel. After this, he went to the apartments of the prince Meerza Baber, which were ransacked; and sent a woman to search the haram. When every thing was seized, the prince and the ladies were ordered to be put with the rest of the royal family in confinement. The dwelling of Meerza Khoord, brother to Shaw Aulum, was next plundered. The chief woman servant of Kirrammut al Nissa Begum was seized, and severely beaten, to make her discover the effects of her mistress; but she would not confess, and was put into prison. The floors of the Begum's apartments were then dug up, and some gold ornaments found. Gholaum Kaudir to-day threatened Bedar Shaw with punishment, if he would not speedily supply him with money, as the troops were becoming clamorous for pay. He then went to Shaw Aulum, and demanded a discovery of the money he had saved from the revenues of Bengal and Aleabad. The Shaw replied, "that what was in the palace was seized; he had no more; and begged to be put to death, that he might be freed from misery." The Rohilla replied, "he would not hurt him, but force a confession" O o 2

"fession from his sons Meerza Akber and Soleymaun Shekkoh." Upon which Shaw Aulum said, "I am in your hands, but injure not my children." Gholaum Kaudir threatened the princes, who declared they knew nothing of their father's treasury; but informed him, that there was a Cashmirian woman in the service of Koottubee Begum, who, if money was concealed, was informed of it. Upon this the woman was sent for and questioned, but confessed nothing; when she was confined for further examination. Bedar Shaw to-day gave Gholaum Kaudir a pair of gold bracelets and twenty five thousand rupees, which had been discovered, with which he was well pleased, and sent to the Shaw five trays of apparel from the wardrobe, and five silver plates. Bedar Shaw desired he would carry him to the general mosque to pay his devotions; but the Rohilla told him not to be in haste, and he should go at a convenient time in proper state. The dissention with Ismaeel Beg encreases daily, and that chief is treating with the Mharattas; but, till their arrival, waits to get what he can from the plunder of the palace. The furniture of the royal elephants was seized to-day.

August 7th.

Bedar Shaw sent a message to Gholaum Kaudir, "that he had, to gratify him, though unbecoming his dignity as a prince, assisted in rifling the palace, and surrendered the treasure discovered. Nothing more was left, but he was ready to accompany him to the field, and acquire wealth for him with the sword." Gholaum Kaudir visited Shaw Aulum, and told him, "he was sorry for his treasons, but would make amends by seating his son Meerza Akber on the throne." Shaw Aulum replied, "he might act as he pleased; but as for himself, he was weary of such degraded empire, and only wished to be retired, and employ himself in devotion." Bedar Shaw was severely threatened this day with correction, if he did not

not procure more money; upon which he replied, "that he had given all in his power, and should be happy to be released from such mock royalty."

Bedar Shaw was again threatened with correction and confinement, in case he did not produce more money or jewels; and again replied, "that Gholaum Kaudir might act as he pleased." August 8th.

In the apartments of Mubarc Mhal, upwards of an hundred women were searched, and afterwards imprisoned. Mallekeh Zummaneh was this day violently indisposed. Bedar Shaw declared to Gholaum Kaudir, "that there were no more valuables left in the palace; but if he chose, he would attend him to collect money from the rajas and zemindars." The Rohilla answered, "that if money was not brought him on the morrow, the Shaw must take the consequence." Twenty chests of lace and tissues were this day burned by Gholaum Kaudir, to extract the silver. Bedar Shaw requested an interview, but was rudely refused in the evening. A meeting took place between Gholaum Kaudir and Ismael Beg Khan. The navob Nazir was threatened with flagellation if he did not produce money. August 9th.

Gholaum Kaudir, attended by five Rohillas, went to Shaw Aulum and demanded a discovery of his hidden treasure. The unfortunate Shaw replied, "I have none; take what you can find in the fort." The villain then ordered his attendants to lift up the princes Meerza Soleyman, Akber Shaw and others, and dash them on the ground; which they did. Shaw Aulum in the agony of his grief exclaimed, "Traitor, forbear such cruelty on my children in my fight." Upon this, Gholaum Kaudir made the Rohillas cast him on the ground; after which they sat upon his breast, and stabbed out his eyes with a dagger. He then gave orders Aug. 10th. 1202

orders for the like cruelty to be inflicted on the princes, but was prevented by the entreaties of an officer, named Seetuldafs. The palace resounded with lamentations among the ladies of the haram. They were commanded to be silent, on pain of chastisement. In the afternoon, Bedar Shaw was carried into the city, attended by the Rohilla; but the latter, suspecting treachery from Ismaeel Beg, returned suddenly with the Shaw to the palace. The inhabitants desert the city in crowds. The bankers' and jewellers' shops have been shut up many days.

Aug. 10th. Two surgeons were sent to attend Shaw Aulum, who lies in great agony of pain. Some money and effects were sent by Gholaum Kaudir to Ismaeel Beg, who is much dissatisfied. A meeting afterwards took place between them, and they visited Bedar Shaw in company.

Aug. 11th. Shaw Aulum petitioned for some relief, as his family had been three days without provisions. Gholaum Kaudir ordered twenty eight rupees per day to be distributed for their support.

Aug. 12th. Gholaum Kaudir Khan ordered an escort to conduct the plunder of the palace to Ghoseghur. The cooking utensils of the royal kitchens were seized this day.

Aug. 13th. The emperor Bedar Shaw desired the navob Nazir to prepare a mosque in the palace for his devotions; but was informed, that the carpeting, &c. had been seized. Upon his importunity, however, some sort of preparation was made; and Bedar heard, for the first time, the prayer read in his own name as emperor. Two infant sons of the prince Soleyman Shekkoh to-day died for want of food. Shaw Aulum dismissed his

* About two pounds twelve shillings.

his physicians, and declined nourishment, saying, "it was more preferable to die, than live, and behold his family perishing around him." Bedar ordered the children to be buried in the Mhal. He said, "that Shaw Aulum complained unjustly, and should be resigned to the decrees of providence." Gholaum Kaudir paid his devotions at the tomb of Nizam ad Dien, where he was met by Ismaeel Beg, and mutual oaths of reconciliation passed between them.

The ladies from several apartments of the haram were turned out into ^aSulleemghur, and Bedar Shaw was commanded by Gholaum Kaudir to dig up the floors in search of treasure. Parties of Mharatta horse to-day appeared close to the city. Shaw Aulum is in great agony, what he eats voiding by the nose. Aug. 14th.

The Rohillas mutinied, and Gholaum Kaudir was obliged to remain close in the citadel. Meerza Ismaeel Beg confined several inhabitants of the city to extort money from them. Aug. 15th.

Bedar Shaw desired Gholaum Kaudir to think of preparing to resist the Mharattas, who were now plundering round the city, and carrying off the cattle and grain. Many angry messages passed between Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg, concerning the division of plunder. At length, the former went to visit the latter in the evening to try an accommodation. Two diamonds, which had been given from the plunder of Shaw. Aug. 16th.

^a Sulleemghur, or Selimghur, is part of the old palace erected by the emperor Jehaungeer, whose name was also Sulleem, or Selim. Since the completion of the new palace by Shaw Jehaun, Sulleemghur has been used as a prison for the princes of the royal family. It is large, has several courts, and gardens for their recreation. Till the reigning emperor became himself in want, they were allowed every convenience of life, but liberty; and as they were mostly born and bred up in confinement, perhaps did not much feel the want of it.

Shaw Aulum to Bedar Shaw, were this day taken from him by the Rohilla.

Aug. 17th.

To-day, Gholaum Kaudir and Ismaeel Beg visited Bedar Shaw, and demanded money, that they might pay the troops, and attend him to the field. The Shaw replied, "that he had none; but would consign over to them the navob Nazir, from whom they might extort it." A convoy of baggage, &c. from Ghoseghur was intercepted by the Mharattas, and many Rohillas cut to pieces. Numbers were drowned in the Jumna in trying to escape from the enemy by fording it. The Mharattas appeared on the bank of the Jumna opposite the citadel. Bedar Shaw desired Gholaum Kaudir to march, offering to accompany him.

Aug. 18th.

The Mharattas continued their approaches, all supplies were stopped from the city, and the shops shut up. Part of the Rohilla army crossed the river, unopposed by the enemy. Gholaum Kaudir went into the apartments of the confined princes, and ordered the property of Khier al Niffa Begum, sister of Shaw Aulum, to be seized. Her money, ornaments, and even the garments she had on, were taken. Several princes were brought before him, whom he addressed, saying, "You aspired to empire, give me your treasures for it." In reply, they wept, and said, "You have taken all we had; there is nothing remaining but our lives." He then caused them to be beaten with whips, and sent them back to confinement. A demand was made on the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal for five lacks of rupees.

Aug. 19th.

The effects of the two Begums above-mentioned were this day seized, guards placed on their houses, and their attendants sent prisoners to the citadel. A letter was presented from Shaw Aulum

Aulum requesting relief, as he and his family were perishing with hunger. Gholaum Kaudir threw the letter on the ground, and exclaimed, "I came not here of my own will; but, as "I slept in a garden at Secundra, suddenly an apparition "struck me on the face, saying, March speedily to Dhely, de- "pose the emperor, and seize the country." Meerza Meendo, uncle of Shaw Aulum, was to-day so severely flogged by orders of the Rohilla, as to faint away, and at length discovered a chamber, under the floor of which were secreted some large chests, two of which were filled with gold coin, and others with rich cloths. The contents of this hoard were unknown to Shaw Aulum, and had been deposited there by Shaw Begum in the last reign.

A guard was placed over the navob Nazir, and his effects seized. He was also commanded to discover the hidden treasures of Shaw Aulum, on pain of punishment. Bedar Shaw sent a request to Gholaum Kaudir for the release of Meerza Buddoo; but the messenger returned without delivering it, the navob being in a violent rage, which made him fearful of going into his presence. About nine at night, the Shaw ventured to send again, begging that he would, for pity's sake, allow some victuals for the women; upon which he sent a small quantity of oil and flour. Many ladies of the haram were searched to-day, and Rohilla soldiers placed at their apartments. Gholaum Kaudir came into the oratory, and had much conversation with the emperor and the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal; when it was agreed, that the ladies belonging to Bedar Shaw should be removed from the haram, and a strict search be made for treasure in every room. Shaw Aulum was sent for, and ordered to discover his hoards. He replied, "that he "knew of none, and begged for compassion on his miseries,

Aug. 20th.

"and his family dying with hunger." The Rohilla told him, "he should yet have more calamities to suffer."

Aug. 21st.

To-day, Gholaum Kaudir ordered Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal from their chambers into the apartments of Akber Shaw, and also the Begum of Bedar Shaw. Upon this Bedar Shaw went to him to complain of his insulted honour; when the Rohilla turning him back, told him to go and keep them company; when he retired to them accordingly. Four ladies died of grief and hunger this day. Their bodies were thrown into the open court, while Gholaum Kaudir was surveying the labourers, who, by his orders, were busied in digging up the floors of the haram. He to-day commanded some of the princes to sing for him, and one of his attendants entreating him not to be so disrespectful, he exclaimed, "If they cannot sing, what else are they fit for? They are the offspring of fingers. Had they been princes, would they have tamely suffered me to act as I have done?"

Aug. 22d.

Bedar Shaw came to Gholaum Kaudir, and requested him, from regard to God and the prophet, to allow some provision for his women and children; when the Rohilla frowned sternly upon him, and uttered much abusive language. The Shaw with the Begums are now confined in the octagon turret, surrounded only by skreens. Gholaum Kaudir sent for Akber Shaw and other princes to sing and play before him, which they dared not refuse. After the performance, he expressed his approbation, and said, "Shaw Aulum and his family should no longer be distressed for necessaries and food."

Aug. 23d.

The house of the navob Nazir was searched, but nothing of much value discovered. The Rohilla chiefs grow clamorous for

for money. Gholaum Kaudir pretends he has none, and is dividing among them the effects of the palace.

A daughter of the prince Meerza Toghrul died of hunger, Aug. 24th. and was buried in her chamber. Meerza Ismaeel Beg sent to enquire of Gholaum Kaudir if he meant to march, as the enemy were now surrounding him. Gholaum Kaudir excused himself for his behaviour to the navob Nazir, by declaring, that he had seized his property, only lest it should be suspected that he was his adviser in the plunder of Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal. Parties of the Mharattas appeared to-day close to the old citadel, and carried off some horses and bullocks. Munniar Sing, who commanded the palace guard, having allowed some provisions to pass to Shaw Aulum and the other confined princes, was rebuked severely by Gholaum Kaudir.

Meerza Ismaeel Beg threatened Gholaum Kaudir, that if he Aug. 25th. would not deliver up his share of the plunder, he would leave him; and the Mogul chiefs also declared, if he remained longer in the citadel, they would quit his service. Gholaum Kaudir made no answer. Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal sent a petition that they might not be left to perish with hunger, but rather, be relieved from their miseries by immediate death. Bedar Shaw threatened to put on a *religious habit; but was told by the Rohilla, that he must prepare to march. He replied, that he would not move.

Bedar Shaw requested of Gholaum Kaudir to dethrone him, Aug. 26th. as he was weary of a dignity which did not afford him and his family the most common necessaries of life. Gholaum Kaudir

P p 2

* In Hindoostan, for a person under the protection of another to assume the habit of a fakeer, or religious, is reckoned disgraceful to the party promising protection, and believed to bring down the curses of heaven upon him.

Kaudir seized all the horses of the royal stables, and distributed them among his followers, leaving only fifteen, of little value, for the Shaw's use. Six ladies of the haram died of hunger, and their bodies were thrown over the walls of the citadel, on the sands of the Jumna. On its being reported, that many others were in a dying state, from the same cause, Gholam Kaudir sent a small supply for the women of Bedar Shaw, but took no notice of the rest.

Aug. 27th.

Four ladies of Shaw Aulum's haram, weary of life, threw themselves from a window into the river, and were drowned. Their bodies were stripped by some soldiers, one of whom was wounded in a scuffle for the division of the garments. The unfortunate Shaw Aulum, almost famished, sent a small silver bow ring, by a soldier who pitied his condition, into the market for sale. It produced only ^a seven pice, with which some coarse bread was purchased for his meal. A considerable sum of money, many valuable jewels and rich effects, were found in the house of Sahebeh Mhal, and seized by Gholam Kaudir.

Aug. 28th.

Some provisions and apparel were allowed to Shaw Aulum and his family. Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal entreated, but in vain, to be allowed to retire to their houses in the city. Gholam Kaudir refused to visit Bedar Shaw, though repeatedly sent for. The navob Nazir was released from his confinement. The shops in the city are shut up, owing to the riotous behaviour of the Rohillas from the dearness of grain, the Mharattas preventing all supplies from the country.

Aug. 29th.

Gholam Kaudir, in a frolic of intoxication, sent for Akber Shaw and several other princes, sons of Shaw Aulum, to the lion bastion, where he entertained them with a feast and dancing.

^a About sixpence.

cing. After some time, laying his head on the knees of Akber Shaw, he slept for two hours. On awaking, he wept, saying, "he had been guilty of great crimes, and repented of his behaviour; that he would restore all the property he had taken, but could not replace the eyes of Shaw Aulum." Akber Shaw, after some consideration, observed, that "the providence which had given eyes to his father, had also taken them away; and the instrument of heaven was not to blame." They sat at the entertainment until sunrise.

Bedar Shaw went to visit Gholaum Kaudir, who would not see him, and ordered him to retire to his apartments. The women of the haram are in the greatest distress for want of victuals. Aug. 30th.

Bedar Shaw, by message, entreated Gholaum Kaudir to order some relief to the confined princes and ladies of the haram; but was answered with angry refusals. Gholaum Kaudir, in passing by the Mhal, was accosted with loud complaints from the unfortunate women, who begged him to allow them food, or let them leave the citadel; but he passed on, saying, "that in four days more he would relieve them." He went to the emperor's bedchamber, and finding a scymetar on the bed, took it away; at the same time commanding the guards not to let Bedar Shaw come to him on any account. Aug. 31st.

The troops of Gholaum Kaudir are mutinous for their arrears. He has spent this day in trying to appease them, but in vain. They threaten to desert him. Sept. 1st. 1788.

Gholaum Kaudir went out to the tomb of Hoomaioon to pacify the Rohillas. After much argument, one of the mutineers, drawing his dagger, rushed towards him, but was stopped

ped by his companions. At length, the troops were satisfied with the assurance of receiving two months pay immediately, and Gholauum Kaudir returned to the palace.

Sept. 3d. News arrived that the zemindars in Sarungpore were in arms; on which account Gholauum Kaudir has resolved to march to Ghoseghur, leaving Ismaeel Beg Khan in Dhely, to defend it against the Mharattas.

Sept. 4th. Gholauum Kaudir is preparing for his march. A new quarrel has arisen between him and Ismaeel Beg Khan concerning the division of the plunder.

Sept. 5th. Bedar Shaw requested, by message, that Gholauum Kaudir would permit barbers to be admitted to Shaw Aulum and his sons, who had not been shaved since the day of his dethronement. It was allowed. Gholauum Kaudir has been the whole day drinking, and listening to the singing girls.

Sept. 6th. A wife of the deceased emperor Ahmed Shaw died in the palace, and Gholauum Kaudir would not permit the body to be carried out for interment, though Bedar Shaw entreated his permission. The Rohilla has been this day consulting with his officers, concerning his defence against the Mharattas.

Sept. 7th. As Gholauum Kaudir was sitting under a tree this day, a black snake fell upon him from one of the branches, but he received no injury. A quantity of gold and jewels was discovered in the ceiling of a chamber. Part of the Rohilla army crossed the river, on which the Mharattas retreated to some distance.

Bedar

* The territory inherited by Gholauum Kaudir from his father Zabtah Khan.

Bedar Shaw observed to his attendants, that his was a strange empire, for he could not even obtain necessaries for his family; that he read the koraun nightly, slept upon the bare ground, and prayed at midnight, in hopes that God in his mercy would have pity on his situation. Gholaum Kaudir reviewed his artillery, and is preparing to march. Sept. 8th.

Gholaum Kaudir continues his preparations to march. Sept. 9th.

Gholaum Kaudir divided the royal tents among his chief followers. Sept. 10th.

Nothing remarkable occurred till the fourteenth, when Gholaum Kaudir, alarmed at information of Ismaeel Beg's being in treaty with Sindia to deliver him up to that chief, suddenly left the palace, and swam the Jumna on an elephant to join the part of his army encamped on the other side. In a few days, however, he returned; and going to Shaw Aulum, assured him, that though he might reign again if the Mharattas were victorious, he should not enjoy the presence of his children, as they should be put to death in case of his defeat. The savage Rohilla then obliged all the sons of the unfortunate emperor to embark in a boat, and cross the river to his camp. Akber Shaw making some resistance, Gholaum Kaudir drew his scymetar, and threatened to kill him if he did not embark, when the prince was obliged to comply. The plunder of the palace was also all carried off in boats. The day following, the Rohilla returned to the citadel, and severely beat Shaw Aulum with his own hands, threatening to murder all the princes. He then obliged the aged Begums Mallekeh, Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal to go to his camp, in despite of their lamentations and entreaties. Then setting fire to all the combustible parts of the citadel, he evacuated it, with his followers, and repaired to his camp.

camp. Upon his departure, a detachment of Mharattas took possession of the city and palace. Rana Khan, the chief, released Shaw Aulum from his confinement, and ordered refreshments for the unfortunate emperor and the numerous persons in the haram, who, for seven days, had been able to procure no sustenance, but dry grain and water. New coins were ordered to be struck in the name of Shaw Aulum, who was again treated as emperor; but he wished to decline the throne in favour of Akber Shaw, whom he had always intended for his successor.

Gholaum Kaudir, a few days after his departure from Dhely, disgusted at some behaviour of Bedar Shaw, or hoping to obtain an accommodation with the Mharattas by regaining the favour of Shaw Aulum, dethroned his newly made sovereign, and acknowledged, as emperor, Akber Shaw. Such was the affection of Shaw Aulum to his son, that on hearing of his exaltation, he wrote to Gholaum Kaudir and the treacherous navob Nazir, assuring them of his pardon for the injuries he had sustained by their conduct, and thanking them for placing his son on the throne. He entreated Rana Khan, the Mharatta general, to acknowledge Akber Shaw; but that chief refused, saying, "He could not, while the prince was in fact only a prisoner, in the hands of Gholaum Kaudir Khan."

Rana Khan having settled affairs at Dhely, and being reinforced by navob Alee Bahadur with a considerable force from Dekkan, crossed the Jumna, to oppose Gholaum Kaudir Khan. That chief, finding it impossible to stand against so powerful an enemy, endeavoured to make his retreat into his own country, but was intercepted. He took refuge in the town of Mhirta, and made proposals of submission; but the Mharattas would not accept them; and on the twenty first of December, 1788, made a
general

general assault on the place. Gholaum Kaudir defended himself a whole day against their attacks; but seeing that he must in the end be reduced, he in the night mounted a fleet horse and made his escape, leaving his followers to shift for themselves. He had not rode many miles, when his horse stumbled, and Gholaum Kaudir was so bruised by the fall he received, that he could not move. In this situation he was found by some villagers, who took him prisoner to the Mharatta camp. He had, previous to his flight, concealed the most valuable jewels acquired from the plunder of the palace, in his saddle and housings. To whose lot this prize fell, is not known, as the horse was never found. The navob Nazir, and other chiefs who had remained in Mhirta, were in the morning obliged to surrender with the troops at the discretion of the enemy. Gholaum Kaudir was at first treated with distinction; but soon put into heavy irons, with his companion in treachery, the navob Nazir. Akber Shaw and the other sons of Shaw Aulum, with the Begums Mallekeh Zummaneh and Sahebeh Mhal, also the deposed Bedar Shaw, were respectfully treated by Rana Khan, who sent them to Dhely, with a proper escort for their protection. Bedar Shaw was remanded to imprisonment.

The Mharattas possessed themselves of Ghoseghur, and the territories of Gholaum Kaudir Khan. They are now without a rival in the direction of the emperor, and likely to remain so, as long as their own state shall remain free from internal commotions, and the neutrality of the English and the navob vizier, with respect to the imperial affairs, be observed.

While a prince of the house of Timur is esteemed as a necessary pageant for the veneration of the people, we shall continue to hear of an emperor of Hindoostan; but it is very improbable that any future possessor of the throne, will ever

acquire the smallest independance on the will of the power which protects his person, whether Hindoo or Mahummedan. The rulers of the different provinces have, as yet, been contented to acknowledge a nominal submission to an emperor, from motives of convenience. It has prevented the jealousy of their equals, and given a sanction to their usurpations with the people, who have yet regarded the Timur family as the fountain of honours and employments; but, except over Dhely, a small tract around it, and during a few years in Korah and Aleabad, the emperors have had no real territorial authority, since the reign of Mahummud Shaw. The Mharattas once attempted to set up a sovereign of their own at Dhely^a; and, should they not be interrupted in their present career of victory, may, in a few years, throw aside the family of Timur, and declare the raja of Sittarra, or their peshwa, emperor of Hindoostan, or at least of the extensive share of it in their possession.

Since this conclusion, the wretch Gholam Kadir was punished by Sindia. His ears, nose, arms, and legs, were cut off; and in this mutilated state he was sent to Shaw Aulum, but died on the road to Dhely. Shaw Aulum has reassumed the throne, if such it may be called, and subsists on the bounty of Sindia, who is employed in reducing the Jeypore country.

1792.

By the last advices, Sindia had levied contributions from the Jeypore, Odipore, and Jodepore rajas, and obliged them to cede

^a The failure of which attempt has been related in the defeat of the Bhaow, by the Abdallee Shaw, in the preceding pages.

cede some parts of their country, and pay tribute for the rest. Shaw Aulum continues a mere pensioner on this chief. The successes of the English, Nizam, and Mharattas against Tippoo Sultan, and the partition of his territories, promise some continuance of peace to Hindoostan; where it is probable, however, the sun of Timur has set for ever.

END OF AURUNGZEBE'S SUCCESSORS
IN THE EMPIRE OF HINDOOSTAN.

PART VI.

HISTORY OF BENGAL,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF

ALIVERDEE KHAN MAHABUT JUNG.

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P R E F A C E.

IT was supposed, that an account of the affairs of BENGAL, with which we are so nearly concerned, would be more agreeable to the reader separately detailed, as its connection must have been frequently broken off by the events in other provinces, if inserted in the general history of the empire.

Bengal, since the death of Mahummud Shaw, like the other provinces, has been nearly independant of the emperors; the several navobs remitting only a trifling part of the revenues to court, and the English government, since the departure of Shaw Aulum in 1771 from under our protection, has ceased to pay any other acknowledgment of his sovereignty, than using his name on the coin and in some of the orders of administration to native officers; if we except a few inconsiderable presents offered him on the great Mahummedan festivals.

At the death of Aurungzebe, and for some years prior to that event, Bengal was governed by Moorshud Koollee Jaffier Khan,

Khan, of whom an account has been published by Mr. GLADWIN, and also of his successor Shujah ad Dowlah. His son Serferauz ad Dowlah was deposed by Mahabut Jung, stiled also Aliverdee Khan, whose life begins the following pages. This was compiled from a Persian manuscript. The transactions from his last illness were translated from the Persian history of Bengal, as literally as possible, of *Gholaum Houfsein Khan, a learned and respectable character, once of greater consequence, but now, if living, a member of the native court of judicature under the most worthy navob Alee Ibrahim Khan; the establishment of which by Mr. HASTINGS restored justice and police to a great capital, in which they had long been neglected.

* An English translation of this has, I understand, been published in Calcutta, by Mustapha, a French mussulmaun, which I should have wished to have compared with my own, but have not been able to procure it.

HISTORY.

HISTORY OF BENGAL.

MAHABUT Jung was originally named Meerza Mahummud Alee. His father, Meerza Mahummud, an officer in the service of the prince Azim Shaw, on the death of his patron falling into distress, moved from Dhely to Cuttac, the capital of Orissa, in hopes of mending his fortune under Shujah ad Dowlah, a distant relation to his wife. Shujah ad Dowlah was son in law to Jaffier Khan, soubahdar of Bengal, from whom he held Orissa, as deputy governor. He received his relation with kindness, appointing an allowance for his support; which induced Meerza Mahummud to send for his son, who accordingly repaired to Cuttac, and was entertained by Shujah ad Dowlah in his service, at a monthly stipend of one hundred rupees. In a short time, the abilities of Mahummud Alee engaging the esteem of his patron, he gradually entrusted him with commands against rebellious zemindars, in which he proved himself worthy of confidence, and was generously rewarded by higher trusts. He now invited his elder brother Hajee Ahmud, then returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, to join him; and on his arrival he, as also his three sons, Mahummud Reza, Mahummud Saeed, and Mahummud Hashim, were enrolled in the

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service of Shujah ad Dowlah, at salaries of fifty, thirty, twenty, and fifteen rupees per month; but as the influence of Mahummud Alee encreased, they were proportionably raised to higher employments.

Jaffier Khan, being displeased at Shujah ad Dowlah's having neglected his daughter for other women, left at his death the succession to his government to his grandson Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan; but Shujah ad Dowlah having more interest at the court of Dhely than his son, procured the soubahdary for himself; when Serferauz Khan dutifully submitted to his authority, on promise of succeeding his parent, and continued to hold the office of imperial dewan under him.

Shujah ad Dowlah, thinking himself greatly indebted to the abilities and fidelity of Mahummud Alee and Hajee Ahmud, for his easy acquisition of the government of Bengal, pursued no measure without their advice. On the former he bestowed the fojedaury of Rajmahal, and procured for him from the emperor a munsub and the title of Aliverdee Khan. The latter was appointed superintendant of the customs of Moorshudabad, and

* Superintendant of the collections. While the authority of the emperors was properly observed, the dewan of a province managed the revenues, and the nazim, or soubahdar, had no power over them, his office being solely that of commander in chief and dispenser of criminal law; but as the empire declined, he usurped the rights of the dewan, whose office became nominal only. Lord Clive obtained it for the company, who reclaimed the proper exertion of the office, but have not for some years remitted any part of the revenue to Dhely. During Shaw Aulum's residence under their protection, he received annually twenty six lacs of rupees; but on quitting it, this tribute was withheld.

† The fojedaury in his district had the same authority as the nazim of a province; but latterly, his office has been confined to the superintendence of police.

‡ Commander of a body of cavalry, sometimes nominal only, for the purpose of giving a title, as all rank is military in Hindoostan.

and his three sons to considerable employments. These distinctions were but the paths to higher offices, as, in a short time after, the province of Bahar being conferred by the emperor on Shujah ad Dowlah, he entrusted the government of it to Aliverdee Khan, obtaining for him additional rank, and the title of 'Mahabut Jung. Hajee Ahmud was created dewan to the navob, and his sons raised to the governments of large districts in Bengal and Bahar.

Shujah ad Dowlah after twelve years' government of Bengal, (the inhabitants of which still speak with veneration of the lenient exercise of his authority,) dying, was succeeded by his son Alla ad Dowlah Serferauz Khan, a young prince, whose character as a moral and religious man stands high on the pages of native history. Eusuff Alee Khan, who writes that of Mahabut Jung, and strives to apologise for his usurpation, as the effect of necessity and self-defence, says, "Serferauz Khan was
 " a prince of exemplary virtue; for though he possessed every
 " incitement to voluptuousness in addition to the season of
 " youth, yet he was not addicted to sensual enjoyments; and
 " during his short government, in the course of which I was
 " constantly with him, I never beheld in his conduct even a
 " tendency towards a vicious action. But, alas! he was ignorant of the arts of policy, and possessed not an address or
 " manners to conciliate the world, so that he became a prey
 " to the machinations of his enemies."

A. H. 1151.
A. D. 1738.

Serferauz Khan at first confirmed all the servants of his father in office, but shortly, impelled by the clamour of his own dependants, who naturally wished to share in the advantages of government, he took the dewanny from Hajee Ahmud, and removed his friends Aulum Chund Royroyan and Juggutt

R r 2

Seet

* Impressing terror in war.

Seet from their employments; which gave much disgust to the two brothers, who had for some years, through their influence with Shujah ad Dowlah, governed Bengal. Hajee Ahmud resolved on the destruction of his master, and privately concerted with Mahabut Jung to depose him; but at the same time had the address to make Serferauz Khan believe, till too late, that he was attached to his interests, and even to persuade him to disband a great part of his army, so unnecessarily expensive in a time of profound peace. He pretended that he was weary of the cares of office, and to thank the navob for relieving him of a burden, and giving him the indulgence of religious retirement in his old age; at the same time expressing his readiness to give his advice on public affairs. His hypocrisy succeeded on the unsuspecting mind of the prince, though he was frequently warned by friends of the danger of confiding in a displaced minister, and continuing his sons and dependants in the government of districts, which they yet enjoyed. He even communicated to Hajee Ahmud advice which had been given him to seize the persons of himself and family; but this mark of sincerity, instead of gaining their loyalty, only served to make them hasten the work of treachery, lest the navob should in time be prevailed upon to follow the wholesome counsel of his real friends. The apologists of Mahabut Jung say, that he had originally no designs on Bengal, but wished only to be continued in the government of Bahar; and would not have conspired against his patron, had he not been persuaded by his brother, that his office and even life was in danger. Be this as it may, some months after his accession,

* It has been said, (how truly I know not, as I have heard it contradicted by many persons) that the following circumstance increased the disgust of the Seets. A near relation of their's, a young lady of uncommon beauty, was forced to shew herself to the navob, who, however, did not offer any other injury; but this was one, not to be forgiven consistent with Indian honour.

cession, Serferauz Khan, who had not yet received the royal grants of confirmation in his government, received intelligence from his agent at Dhely, that Mahabut Jung had employed emissaries to bribe the imperial ministers, and obtain for himself the soubahdary of Bahar independantly, if not of Bengal. It is most probable that this information was true, as the court of Dhely was become notoriously corrupt; and even its weakness made the emperor, on the vacancy of government, deaf to juster claims, and bestow the succession on him whose force was the strongest, as the only mode of preserving an acknowledgment of his authority.

Serferauz Khan now began to be alarmed; and, in order to reduce the influence of Mahabut Jung, he recalled the troops stationed with him in Bahar; but they did not obey him. He next tried conciliatory measures to gain his attachment, and proposed an alliance between his own son and a niece of Hajee Ahmud; but this offer was rejected, and taken hold of as a pretence for rebellion, under colour of the young lady's having been already betrothed to another, which made the proposal an indignity to the whole family, that ought to be revenged. Hajee Ahmud and his sons wrote heavy complaints of this insult to Mahabut Jung, assuring him, that the navob meant forcibly to celebrate the nuptials, and unless he should prevent them, by speedily marching to Bengal and rescuing the lady and themselves from his power, their family would be dishonoured, and perhaps cut off in defending their reputation, by the tyrant. To account for the self-security of Serferauz Khan at this period is impossible; for, though informed that Mahabut Jung was encreasing his forces, and that he entertained treasonable designs, Hajee Ahmud and his sons were left at liberty, and Atta Oollah Khan, the father of the young lady, in command of the frontier station towards Bahar; nor did he take the

the precaution to collect his troops. Suddenly he received advice, that Mahabut Jung had arrived at Raujemahal, not more than three days' march from the capital, with his army, having gained the passes by the connivance of Atta Oollah Khan, the fojedaur of that district. From hence he had a letter from the rebel, setting forth, that as the indignities offered to his family had amounted to personal dishonour, he had marched thus far without orders, but hoped he should not be obliged to come to extremities he wished to avoid; and promising to retire, if the navob would send his brother and nephews with their families and effects to his camp.

Serferauz Khan on this occasion rejected the advice of his friends to confine Hajee Ahmud, who, with solemn asseverations, declaring that Mahabut Jung would on his being allowed to visit him, retire to his government, unless the navob should invite him to his presence as a mark of favour, was permitted to depart with his family. The navob dispatched with him two confidential persons, to assure Mahabut Jung of his regard, and learn, if possible, his real intentions. At the same time, he moved from the capital with about four thousand horse, and proceeded by easy marches towards the rebel. On the fourth day his agents returned, bringing him assurances from Mahabut Jung that he was loyal to his person and government; but requested that Ghose Mahummud Khan and others, who he knew had prejudiced the navob against him, might be removed from court, that he might safely come and pay his respects; also, that seven lacks of rupees would be given to pay the arrears of those troops who had been detached with him from Bengal by the late navob.

Serferauz Khan now was not to be longer deceived. He saw the demands of the rebel in their true light, as made only
to

to deprive him of his real friends, and render him a defenceless prey to treachery; but, instead of boldly continuing his march, he imprudently opposed art to art; in which he was unequal. He seemingly assented to the requests of Mahabut Jung, while he sent emissaries with large sums to bribe his followers to desert him; but they betrayed their commission, and the rebel taking immediate advantage of the nabob's security in the success of his scheme, while negotiations were depending, surprized his camp. Serferauz Khan was slain, it is supposed, by the treachery of his attendants, in the beginning of the attack. His troops, after a very gallant resistance, in which success often remained doubtful, were defeated, and Mahabut Jung became by his victory, soubahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Serferauz possessed the government only one year and two months, being in his thirty sixth year at the time of his death, which happened in the year 1739.

Two days after his victory, Mahabut Jung entered the capital, and repairing first to the apartments of Nuffeesa Begum, daughter to Shujah ad Dowlah, entreated her pardon for the slaughter of her brother, and assured her of his protection to herself and the survivors of her family. He then ascended the musnud in the hall of audience, and his authority as soubahdar was acknowledged by the officers of government and inhabitants of the city. Having possessed himself of the treasures of the unfortunate Serferauz Khan, which had accumulated to an immense amount by the savings of his grandfather and father, and had not been diminished, Mahabut Jung sent a corore of rupees in money, and to the amount of seventy lacs in jewels, plate, and rich goods, as an offering to the emperor; who, in return for this mark of obedience, shortly after confirmed him in the government of the three soubahs of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. It is said, these sums were but a trifling part of his acquisitions.

acquisitions. He conferred large sums on his relations and adherents, and bestowed an ample gratuity on the troops. Having arranged the affairs of Bengal, he prepared to reduce Orissa, which was as yet unsubdued to his government.

Moorshud Koollee Khan, deputy governor of Orissa, son in law to Shujah ad Dowlah who had married the sister of the late navob, on his overthrow had at first quietly acknowledged Mahabut Jung as soubahdar, and was continued in office; but soon afterwards, at the instigation of his wife and Baukir Khan, his son in law, who reproached him with cowardice in submitting to a traitor, he withdrew his allegiance, and prepared to revenge the murder of his brother in law; for which purpose he levied an army, and invited the officers of the late navob to join his standard against the usurper.

Mahabut Jung, on intelligence of his designs, regarding them as the effect of artful persuasion on his mind, was willing if possible to avoid a rupture, and wrote letters of assurance that he had no enmity towards him; but, as circumstances had rendered his stay in his territories hazardous for the peace of both parties, he entreated he would remove either to Dhely by way of Moorshudabad, or to Dekkan, which was nearer Cuttac, with his family and effects. Moorshud Koollee Khan, justly fearing opposition to Mahabut Jung fruitless, would have followed this advice; but his wife and Baukir Khan, by threats of depriving him of his wealth and imputations of cowardice, prevailed upon him to answer the navob's letters by insults and defiance. Mahabut Jung upon this, leaving his brother Hajee Ahmud and his nephew Shawamut Jung in charge of his capital, moved with an army towards Cuttac.

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On intelligence of his approach, Moorshud Koollee Khan having summoned his friends to a consultation, laid his sabre before them, and after inveighing against the usurpation and treachery of Mahabut Jung, declared his intentions of opposing him, should they be firm in support and attachment; but otherwise, to retire to some place of security with his family. The assembly unanimously assured him of their fidelity and readiness to engage in war, and the chiefs of the army at his request regirt the sabre round his waist. After this, he moved from Cuttac, and encamped in a strong situation, surrounded by thick woods and a river, fortifying his camp with nearly three hundred pieces of cannon.

Mahabut Jung speedily arrived on the bank of the river, within a few miles of the enemy, and halted long, being incapable of dislodging him from his secure position. In this situation his camp was but ill supplied with provisions, the zemindars being attached to Moorshud Koollee Khan, and cutting off his convoys, so that the troops soon began to murmur. Meerza Baukir Khan, learning the dissatisfaction of the navob's army, contrary to the remonstrances of Moorshud Koollee Khan, at length imprudently moved from his camp and offered battle; which was gladly accepted by Mahabut Jung. The engagement was long and bloody, but finally decided in favour of the latter. Moorshud Koollee Khan, his son in law, and chief dependants, made good their retreat to Balasore, a seaport town, from whence they embarked on board ships, and arrived safely at Massulipatam, on the coast of Coromandel, where they were generously received by the fojedaur, Anwer ad Dien Khan. The raja of Ruttepore, on the borders of Orissa, hearing of their flight, with a magnanimous humanity detached a force to Cuttac, and brought off their families and treasure in safety to his residence,

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residence, where he delivered them to Baukir Khan, who was sent to receive them.

Mahabut Jung after his victory marched to Cuttac, and having arranged the affairs of the province, entrusted the government to his nephew Sowlut Jung, one of the sons of Hajee Ahmud. He then returned to Moorshudabad, and employed himself in regulating the concerns of Bengal, in which he consulted the ease and satisfaction of the public. To the women and dependants of the late navob he granted liberal allowances, and allotted them lands and houses at Dacca, where they retired. Nuffeela Begum, sister to Alla ad Dowlah, having accepted the superintendence of the haram of Shawamut Jung, was treated with the highest respect, and the revenue of the 'Khaus Ta-look and all estates bought by her grandfather, Jaffier Khan, left at her disposal. A son of her brother's, born on the day of his death, whom she had adopted, was permitted to reside with her, and treated with parental fondness by Mahabut Jung and his nephew.

Sowlut Jung, in his government of Cuttac did not act with that prudence becoming his situation. He vexed the adherents of Moorshud Koollee Khan, who had remained in the province under promise of not being molested in their estates, by fines and extortion, on pretence that they had secreted money belonging to their late chief; and, being much addicted to pleasure, was guilty of excesses in procuring women for his haram from the inhabitants. To these oppressions he added an impolitic neglect of the troops stationed with him by his uncle, in lessening their pay to garrison allowance, which gave great disgust, so that numbers left his service. Their places he filled with

* A district round Moorshudabad, of which Jaffier Khan had purchased the proprietary.

with natives of Cuttac, who, for the satisfaction of living at home, accepted of a trifling salary. These men were secretly attached to the late governor, whose son in law now resided on the borders of the province, in hopes of opportunity offering to renew his attempts. The conduct of Sowlut Jung becoming daily more oppressive to the people, they at length invited Moorshud Koollee Khan to return; but he was too fond of his present retirement to hazard his person, and rejected their offers. They then had recourse to Baukir Khan, who gladly accepted their promises of support; and measures were so secretly contrived, that Sowlut Jung was suddenly taken prisoner in his palace in a general insurrection of the people, and delivered to Baukir Khan, who assumed the government of Cuttac.

Mahabut Jung, on intelligence of this event, lost no time in preparing to remedy the disaster. His brother Hajee Ahmud, and the mother of Sowlut Jung, apprehensive for the safety of their son, would have prevailed upon him to give up Orissa to Baukir Khan on promise of allegiance, and attributed his success to aids he had received from Nizam al Moolk, whom it would be impolitic to displease, as it might bring upon him the force of Dekkan and loss of Bengal; but he paid no attention to their advice. In a short time his forces were ready; and, having left Shawamut Jung in the command of Moorshudabad, he began his march at the head of twenty thousand horse and foot. As an encouragement to his chiefs, he had ordered them to make considerable additions to their corps, and promised a reward of a lac of rupees to the person who should recover Sowlut Jung from captivity, and if he should be the commander of a corps, to give two months pay additionally to each man.

Baukir Khan, on the approach of the navob, entrenched himself on the banks of the Mahanuddee; but having little hope of success against so powerful an enemy, sent off his baggage and family to Dekkan. Resolved that Sowlut Jung should not survive his defeat, he placed him in a covered ^arutt under the charge of two Moguls, who had orders to kill him, should the troops of Mahabut Jung pursue and come up with them. To make his death the surer, he privately ordered the escort of horse who guarded the carriage, on the approach of an enemy, to thrust their spears into it, and destroy both the victim and the executioners. Mahabut Jung attacked the entrenchments of Baukir Khan, who was deserted in an instant by his troops, too much intimidated to make resistance; and the victors pursued so closely, that they speedily overtook the escort of Sowlut Jung, when numerous spears were thrust into the carriage, and one of the Moguls was killed, but Sowlut Jung escaped unhurt, by the wounded man's falling upon him. The other Mogul was slightly wounded, and made his escape, while the pursuers were releasing their recovered prince. Mahabut Jung having returned thanks for his easy victory, and the safety of his nephew from such imminent danger, sent him, with a considerable force for his protection, to his parents at Moorshudabad, not thinking it prudent to entrust him again with the government of Cuttac. The women and family of Sowlut Jung, who had been detained prisoners in a fortress, were released on news of the victory by the garrison, and escorted safely to him. The navob, having regulated the affairs of the recovered province, gave the deputation of it to an officer of experience, named Mahummud Masoom; and apprehending no new danger near, permitted most of the troops to retire to their homes, while he, with only his principal chiefs and about five thousand horse, marched slowly towards his capital, enjoying the

^a A carriage drawn by oxen.

the amusement of hunting on the way; but this calm was suddenly overcast by storms, which threatened his destruction, and the desolation of the provinces.

Mahabut Jung was encamped near Midnapore, when intelligence arrived that Boskar Pundit had been detached by Ragojee Bhoselah, the Mharatta chief of Berar, at the head of forty thousand horse, to demand the 'choute of Bengal, and was rapidly advancing towards him; but the navob, not expecting that they would enter by Orissa, was little alarmed at the report, as he had received advice of their intention to pass through Bahar, and had intended on his return to the capital to take measures to resist them, for which he fancied he should have ample time before they could reach that province. In this, however, he was mistaken, as an express suddenly arrived that the enemy was within twenty coss of his camp. Mahabut Jung upon this hastened his march to Burdwan, a considerable town, intending to place in it his heavy baggage, and engage the Mharattas. Shortly after his arrival they appeared, and laid waste the environs of the camp with fire and sword. Some skirmishes took place with little loss on either side; the enemy, whose object was plunder only, not chusing to risk a general action. Some days passed in this manner, when Boskar Raow proposed evacuating the country for a contribution of ten lacs of rupees, but this was refused; and Mahabut Jung resolved to push his way to Moorshudabad, where he could recruit his scattered force. He issued orders for the greatest part of the heavy baggage and camp followers to remain at Burdwan, but in vain, as they were too much alarmed to trust themselves in the town; but the consequence of their disobedience was nearly fatal. On the first day's march, the Mharattas surrounded the line, and
Mahabut

* A fourth part of the revenues, which the Mharattas demanded from every province. This claim is explained in the account of Dekkan.

Mahabut Jung, unable to defend the numerous crowd of useless attendants and market people of his army, now reduced to less than five thousand fighting men, had the mortification of losing the chief part of his baggage, artillery, and tents. When he halted for the night, only a small tent could be procured for his reception. He now dispatched a messenger with offers to pay the ten lacks of rupees to the Mharattas; but Boskar Raow refused, and demanded a *corore, with all the elephants belonging to the navob. Mahabut Jung refused such degrading concessions, and the next day proceeded on his march, which was harassed as usual, and what little baggage remained fell a prey to the enemy; who, however, could make no impression on the main body, and were often repulsed from the charge. For three days a running fight was kept up, during which the greatest distress for provisions and shelter from heavy rain was experienced by the troops of Mahabut Jung. On the fourth he reached Cutwa, which the Mharattas had laid waste, and destroyed large magazines of grain by fire; but enough remained, though in a parched state, to be an acceptable supply to an army almost perishing with hunger. Here the navob encamped, on the bank of the river Bhaugruttee, secured by his position from further insult of the enemy; and having written to his capital of the situation he was in, Sowlat Jung joined him expeditiously with a considerable reinforcement, and plentiful supplies of provisions from the opposite bank of the river, which was yet unmolested by the enemy.

Boskar Pundit, the Mharatta general, from the fear of passing the rains in the country of an enemy who had so gallantly opposed him, would have now retreated to Berar; but Meer Hubbeeb, an officer of Mahabut Jung's, who had been taken prisoner and accepted the service of the Mharattas advised

* Upwards of a million sterling.

vised him to remain, offering to provide subsistence for his army, and to guide a detachment to Moorshudabad, which might easily be plundered, it being unfortified. Boskar relished his proposal, and entrusted him with the command of some thousand horse. The navob, having intelligence of this design, left Cutwa, and hastened to the capital, where he arrived one day after Meer Hubbeeb, who had already plundered the suburbs, especially the factory of Juggut Seet, to the amount of three lacs of rupees. On the arrival of Mahabut Jung he retreated, and prevailed on Boskar to encamp at Cutwa for the rainy season; and the navob, satisfied with having preserved the city from plunder, deferred further operations till he could recruit his army, and strengthen the capital by new works. The enemy, while the fords permitted, two or three times advanced to Plassey and Daoodpore; not many miles distant from Moorshudabad, plundering the villages, till the swelling of the Bhaugruttee confined them to the opposite shore. During the rains, Boskar Pundit, by means of Meer Hubbeeb, possessed himself of Hughly, Injalee, and all the districts of Burdwan and Midnapore as far as Balasore, also Bheerbhoom, Rajeshawee, and Rajemahal; so that, except Moorshudabad and its environs, nothing remained to the navob west of the Ganges in Bengal; but the districts to the east of that river afforded him ample resources. The inhabitants of the capital, during the rainy season, for the most part moved with their families and effects across the Ganges for the greater security. The families, treasures, and valuables of Mahabut Jung and his relations, were also sent over that river to Godagauree, under the care of Shawamut Jung, who returned to the capital after he had provided a place of safety for them.

Mahabut Jung passed the rainy season in raising new levies and encouraging his troops; to whom he distributed ten lacs of rupees, which he had promised them when surrounded by
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the Mharattas. The dry weather had not yet commenced, when he marched from Moorshudabad, and crossed the Bhaugruttee over a bridge of boats, without opposition from the enemy, who still continued in their camp at Cutwa, which was divided from the navob's army by a deep rivulet, much swollen by the rains. Mahabut Jung during the night ordered a bridge of boats to be thrown across it, which was done without being perceived by the enemy. About midnight, Meer Jaffier Khan, Mustapha Khan, and other chiefs, at the head of a chosen body, began to cross. Half of this detachment had scarcely reached the opposite bank, when a boat in the middle of the bridge was loosened, and sunk by the weight of passengers; and the troops in the rear pressing on, numbers were pushed in and drowned, before the accident was discovered. Six hundred men are said to have perished in this manner; but such was the ardour of the troops and conduct of Mahabut Jung, that the accident was soon repaired, and by daylight the whole army had crossed, and prepared to attack the enemy. Boskar Raow was so intimidated at this bold and unexpected measure, that he fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving great part of his baggage and tents behind him; but was so rapidly pursued, as to lose a considerable number of men within two coss of Cutwa, where he tried to make a stand, but in vain, his troops flying on the navob's approach. He continued his retreat to the woods of Pacheet, and was followed by Mahabut Jung so closely, that finding it impossible to gain the passes by this route, he changed it, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb, and returned into the forests of Bishehpore, so as to deceive his pursuers, and gain the open country by way of Chunderkoona into Midnapore. Here he encamped, and detached a force against Cuttac, which was but ill defended by troops; and the governor, Masoom Khan, rashly marching out with his small force, was defeated and slain.

Mahabut

Mahabut Jung having at last procured intelligence of the change of the enemy's route, marched back, and hastened to Burdwan. From thence he advanced to Midnapore, where Boskar Raow, encouraged by his late success against Mafoom Khan, gave him battle, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled by way of Cuttac, to the borders of his own country. The navob, not thinking it necessary to pursue beyond his own territories, now completely evacuated by the enemy, having entrusted the government of Cuttac to Abd al Ruffool Khan, returned triumphantly to his capital. The emperor Mahummud Shaw, as a mark of approbation, now conferred upon him the title of ^a Hisham ad Dowlah, with a khelaut, sword and dagger set with jewels, also a firpeach and collar of pearls. The title of ^b Itisham ad Dowlah was conferred on Shawamut Jung, that of ^c Mahaum ad Dowlah on Sowlut Jung, and that of ^d Hitteram ad Dowlah on Hybut Jung, his three nephews; and inferior ranks and titles on the principal officers of his army.

Mahabut Jung, on the first invasion of the Mharattas, had applied to the emperor for assistance; and Suffder Jung, navob of Oude, was ordered with his troops into Bengal, but had advanced no farther than Patna, the capital of Bahar, when Boskar Raow was defeated. Mahabut Jung, encouraged by victory, now thought himself fully equal to the defence of his provinces; and informing Suffder Jung that he had no further occasion for succours, requested him to quit Patna and return home, which he did, though with some reluctance, having intended, it is said, had Mahabut Jung been worsted by his enemy, to have added Bahar to his own government. During his stay at Patna, he

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^a Force of the state.

^b Eminent in the state.

^c Regulator of the state.

^d Dignifier of the state.

had selected some pieces of artillery and elephants belonging to the deputy governor for his own use, without the consent of Mahabut Jung; and he not relishing such acts of authority in an auxiliary, was much offended, so that a coolness took place between them; and had not Suffder Jung thought proper to retreat, in all probability an open rupture would have soon succeeded his refusal.

The attempts of the Mharattas on Bengal did not end with the defeat of Boskar Raow. Ragojee Bhoſela, enraged at the repulse of his general, immediately prepared a new army, at the head of which he entered Bengal without delay. At the same time, ^aBallajee Raow, the principal Mharatta chief, advanced with a considerable force to receive payment of a draft of ^beleven lacs of rupees, given by the emperor on Mahabut Jung, but with professed declarations of affording his assistance to him against the former, by orders from Dhely. Ragojee having entered the country by way of Beerboom, fixed his head quarters in the district of Burdwan, while Ballajee marched through Bahar to the bank of the Bhaugruttee, not very far from the capital. Mahabut Jung advanced to meet him, and an interview took place, at which it was agreed, that both armies should act in conjunction against Ragojee. It is supposed, the navob paid a great sum for his alliance with this Mharatta general, whose coming to Bengal is variously accounted for. Some attribute it to the emperor's orders, in consequence of the request of Mahabut Jung; others, to the royal anger at his usurpation of the government; but it is more probable, that Ballajee was allured by the prospect of obtaining a considerable plunder in Bengal, and gratifying his enmity against the Berar chief, than that he shewed any regard

^a Ballajee and Ragojee at this time were at enmity as rivals for the peshwship or ministry of the Mharatta states.

^b One hundred and ten thousand pounds.

regard to Mahummud Shaw's approbation or dislike of the conduct of Mahabut Jung. Both armies now marched to expell Ragojee from Burdwan, and continued together for some days, when Ballajee, not liking the slow movement of the Bengal troops, took upon himself the punishment of the Berar chief, and left the navob. Ragojee fled, as he advanced, to his own country; and Mahabut Jung, having thus prudently cleared the provinces of his enemy, returned to Moorshudabad: but though he did not in this campaign suffer loss in the field, that of the revenue was great, as the unfortunate inhabitants of the defenceless villages were plundered without mercy by both the Mharatta armies; nor were their calamities yet at an end from the invaders.

Ragojee the year following again sent Boskar Raow, at the head of twenty thousand horse, to invade Bengal, but with orders to offer peace, should the navob submit to pay a heavy contribution, as he had done to Ballajee. Mahabut Jung on their approach moved with his army and encamped at Munkirra, only ten miles from his capital, having it in contemplation to take advantage of the desire his enemy had for money to allure the principal chiefs to an interview by promises of large sums, and cut them off by treachery; which, if effected, he could easily vanquish an army deprived of its leaders. With such views, he dispatched Mustapha Khan and Raja Janeggee Ram to the Mharatta camp, with proposals of peace and an invitation to Boskar Raow to come to an interview, should the terms of friendship be accepted. Boskar Raow demanded heavy contributions; to which the agents readily consented, provided he would visit Mahabut Jung, who at the same time daily sent him friendly letters and valuable presents. At length, the Mharatta, blinded by avarice, consented, and a day was appointed. The navob having communicated his intentions to his nephew

Sowlut Jung, Jaffier Khan, and Fakeer Oollah Beg, commanded them to select a confidential band of men, and draw them up within the skreens round the tent of audience, with orders to rush upon Boskar and his attendants upon a signal, which he appointed, promising liberal rewards for their obedience. At length, the day fixed being arrived, Boskar Raow moved from Cutwa with the greatest part of his army, and on his arrival near the navob's encampment, leaving his troops drawn up in order of battle, advanced with other principal chiefs and his attendants. The Bengal troops were drawn up to receive him. Near the tent of audience he dismounted, and entered the enclosure of skreens with his companions, supported by Mustapha Khan and Raja Janegee Ram, who soon after, however, contrived to quit him. Mahabut Jung eagerly enquired as he advanced, which was Boskar Raow? and on his being pointed out, cried out with a loud voice, "Cut down the infidel." In an instant the appointed band rushed on their victims, and Boskar Raow, with nineteen officers of rank, were slaughtered. The navob now mounted his elephant, and putting himself at the head of his troops, furiously charged the Mharatta line; which, not expecting an attack and deprived of their generals, was routed in an instant. Mahabut Jung pursued the enemy to Cutwa, their standing camp, which had been left under the command of Ragoo Gicowaur, who had uniformly refused to accompany Boskar to the fatal interview. Being informed of the fate of his general, he fled with precipitation, and evacuated the provinces without attempting to revenge the massacre. Mahabut Jung returned to Moorshudabad; and having distributed ten lacs of rupees, as a gratuity to the troops, conferred liberal rewards on those chiefs who had assisted mostly in the completion of his insidious and bloody victory. Hajee Ahmud about this time being offended at his brother, for refusing him the fojedaury of Hughly, though he had a greater revenue than he could

could expend, and the office he desired was conferred on his own son Sowlut Jung, who had been without any consequential employment since his unfortunate administration at Cuttac, retired in disgust to Patna, where he devoted himself in his old age to sensual enjoyments.

Mahabut Jung, now freed from foreign enemies, was assiduously employed in the regulation of his provinces, and forming plans for the repair of that desolation which the Mharattas had spread through all the districts west of the river Ganges; but a storm soon arose within his own dominions, which was more threatening to his power than the armies of Dekkan. He had, in order to attach his chiefs to his interest during the war, been lavish of his favours, and more so of promises of future rewards; but which, now finding inconvenient to fulfil, he broke through; which gave offence to many, but particularly to his principal general, Mustapha Khan.

Mustapha Khan had been constantly the chief counsellor and agent of Mahabut Jung. To his fidelity and valour he in great measure owed his acquisition of the musnud of Bengal, and his success over the Mharatta invaders. To his address he was indebted also for the decisive, but treacherous blow, given to his enemies, by the late assassination of Boskar Raow and his officers; and, it is said, that for this last service he had promised him the government of Bahar, which was held by his nephew and son in law, Hybut Jung. The general was pressing for the performance of his promise, and in such a manner, as shewed he rather esteemed himself the partner in authority than servant of the navob. He interfered also, by his recommendations of persons to office, with the plans of Mahabut Jung, who granted many favours to his importunity, but every compliance was instantly succeeded by new requests; so that the navob was in danger

danger of becoming a tool in the hands of his general, a situation which his high spirit could not brook. To such a pitch had Mustapha Khan carried his influence, that the zemindars of Bengal, when the dewan, or revenue collectors, pushed them for payment, or enforced arrangements, they did not chuse, however necessary and just, bribed him to screen them from the resentment of the navob; who, to please his minister, (whom he wished not to disgust in a season of danger) too often repealed his own orders, to the injury of his treasury and authority, insomuch that the civil officers of government became of little consequence in the eyes of the renters. Mahabut Jung bore with the evil till it was becoming dangerous; but on the general's demanding the province of Bahar, he was obliged to refuse, fearing, from his own conduct in a similar situation, that Mustapha Khan would finally direct the force which that government would give him, against his patron, as he himself had done against the unfortunate Alla ad Dowlah. He endeavoured, however, by every means to satisfy him for his breach of promise, but in vain. Mustapha Khan had resolved to establish himself in Bahar, and would not be put off. It is said, that he had even views upon Bengal, to satisfy which he would not have spared the life of his master. Jealousies now took place, and each party became suspicious of the other's intentions, knowing that assassination was an engine they each could make use of without remorse, and which, perhaps, both watched an opportunity to employ. Appearances of regard were however kept up between the navob and his general; but the latter now always went well guarded in his visits to court. At length, an accident brought affairs to a crisis, which produced an open rupture.

Mustapha Khan, one day intending to pay his respects to the navob, dispatched before him two of his principal officers, to observe

observe the state of the audience chamber, and remark if there were signs of treachery against him; a precaution he had used since the coolness had taken place. The officers having made their obeisance to the prince, sat down to wait the arrival of the general, when, just as it was announced, a eunuch came from the interior apartments, and informed Mahabut Jung, that his Begum was suddenly taken ill, and desired to see him, the navob rose up, and, retiring, desired that the officers would excuse him for a few minutes to their general. At this instant, the tread of feet and uncommon rustling was heard in the passage to the haram, which the officers, ever suspicious of treachery, supposing to proceed from armed men concealed to assassinate their lord, and the navob's departure giving colour to their apprehensions, they rushed out, and informed Mustapha Khan, who was now alighting in the court, of their fears. The general, prepared for alarm by the consciousness of his own evil designs, remounted; and, hastening precipitately to his cantonments, refused to return, though the navob, who had almost instantaneously come back to the chamber of audience, dispatched after him his nephew Shawamut Jung to inform him that he was waiting to receive him, and anxious to enquire the cause of his sudden departure, with solemn assurances, that no treachery had been intended. On the return of his nephew, Mahabut Jung would have gone in person to persuade him of his sincerity; but the entreaties of his family, who were alarmed for his safety, prevailed upon him to give up that hazardous design. Every trial was made to calm the apprehensions of the general, but in vain; and he now openly declared his intentions of quitting the navob's service with his friends, and demanded the arrears of pay due to himself and followers. Mahabut Jung gladly complied with his wishes, and paid without delay ^a seventeen lacs of rupees, without examining his accounts; at the same time

^a One hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

time commanding him, as he was resolved to leave his service, to quit his dominions. Mustapha Khan, emboldened by the readiness with which the navob satisfied his demands, and regarding it as a proof of weakness and fear, made proposals to the Afghaun commanders of corps to depose Mahabut Jung, and divide his territories equally among them. Shumsheer Khan, a considerable chief, agreed to join him; but the rest, as Serdaur Khan, Rahim Khan, and others, declined, saying, that if Mahabut Jung had injured him by withholding his just demands, they would readily have assisted him in enforcing redress; but to mutiny for no cause, or behave ungratefully to their benefactor, they esteemed base and dishonourable. The navob took care to improve this good disposition by present gratuities and promises of favour to the loyal chiefs and their followers; but, not willing to hazard the safety of his capital by proceeding to extremities against the rebel, was content to guard the city from insult, and wait patiently for his departure. At length, Mustapha Khan having used every art, but without effect, to corrupt the army, marched from Moorshudabad with upwards of eight thousand horse and a great number of foot, having previously set fire to his cantonments, with the intention of possessing himself of Bahar. The inhabitants of the city, who during the quarrel had been under the greatest alarm for their persons and property, received new life from his departure. The navob, having liberally rewarded his troops for their fidelity, particularly Serdaur Khan, Rahim Khan, and Shumsheer Khan, who had been gained over from joining the rebel, now prepared to pursue him. After a few days, leaving the city in charge of his nephew Shawamut Jung, he began his march; at the same time writing to Hybut Jung, governor of Patna, the capital of Bahar, not to hazard an engagement in the field, and if he thought that city not defensible, to cross the river, and move down the opposite bank, till he could form a junction with his grand army.

Mustapha

Mustapha Khan having plundered Rajemahal, and taken some elephants and cannon stationed there to his own use, proceeded to Monghyr, of which he gained possession with little loss, the fortress being in a ruinous state. He next advanced towards Patna, hoping to make an easy conquest of that city; but intelligence of his defection having reached Hybut Jung, who was then engaged in some operations on the opposite bank of the Ganges, he returned expeditiously, and encamped near the town, resolved, notwithstanding the contrary advice of his uncle the navob, to oppose the enemy, however superior in number. He dispatched a messenger to Mustapha Khan, desiring to know his intentions, declaring, that if they were to seize the city, he must produce the imperial orders for his conduct, before it should be given up; but, if his design was only to pass through the province into Benaras or Oude, he was welcome to pursue his route any way but through the capital. The rebel insolently replied, "That he thought it incumbent upon him to destroy heretics like Mahabut Jung; and as the scripture saith, 'Territory is for him who can conquer it,' there was no occasion for the imperial grant." He concluded by asking, "By what authority was his uncle supported in seizing Bengal, and murdering his sovereign Serferauz Khan?"

Hybut Jung, not intimidated at the rebel's approach, prepared to receive him, though his army did not consist of more than five or six thousand horse, great part of them new levies, raised in a hurry, and inexperienced. The enemy soon appeared,

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* Mustapha Khan was a Soonni, the sectaries of which are advocates for the justice of the succession to the prophet of the three first kaliphs, Aboubeker, Omar, and Osmaun, in prejudice to Alee, the prophet's son in law. Mahabut Jung was of the Sheea sect, who regard Alee as the successor of the prophet, and even his equal in holiness. The superstitious among them even say, that God commissioned the angel Gabriel to deliver his revelation to Alee, but that he, by mistake, gave it to Mahummud.

ed, and attacked his camp without delay; when Hybut Jung was deserted by all his troops, except a few hundred veterans who guarded his person, on the first onset. Mustapha Khan was furiously charging this small body, when his elephant driver being killed by a musquet shot, the animal became unruly, and at the same time two of his principal officers, Oudal Shaw and Hakeem Shaw, were mortally wounded. Unable to manage his elephant, he alighted in order to mount a horse; but his troops, on missing him from his *howdah, supposed him slain, were seized with a panic, and retreated in confusion towards their own camp. Mustapha Khan endeavoured in vain to rally and convince them of their error, but was obliged to retire. Hybut Jung, not thinking it prudent to pursue, was contented with the repulse of the enemy, and remained within his lines. A distant cannonade and skirmishing was kept up for seven days between the two armies, but on the eighth, the rebel, after sending off his baggage and tents some miles to the westward of Patna, again attacked the lines of Hybut Jung, who defended his post with gallantry and resolution. Mustapha Khan, still unfortunate, in the beginning of the assault was wounded in the eye with an arrow, which obliged him to retreat; and having now intelligence of the near approach of Mahabut Jung, he judged it best to give over his designs on Patna, and march towards the frontier of Bahar. He was soon pursued by the united forces of the navob and his nephew from place to place, till he had passed the borders into the territories of Suffder Jung; not chusing to hazard an engagement, as his troops were dispirited by their late repulses, and the loss of their two principal chiefs. He expected also to be soon joined by a body of Mharattas, in conjunction with whom he hoped to be more successful at a future period. He retired under the walls

* A seat used on elephants.

walls of the fortress of ^aChunar, and Mahabut Jung did not chuse to run the risk of embroiling himself with the navob of Oude by carrying the pursuit into his dominions.

The navob had scarcely returned to Patna, when he received intelligence, that Ragojee Bhosela, encouraged by assurances of assistance from Mustapha Khan, and eager to revenge the assassination of Boskar Raow and his officers, had marched towards Bengal with a large army, and was rapidly advancing. Mahabut Jung, leaving Hybut Jung to defend Bahar and watch the motions of the rebel, hastened to Moorshudabad for the defence of that city, and prevent, if possible, a junction of the Mharattas with Mustapha Khan. At the same time he sent an ambassador to endeavour to divert Ragojee from his invasion; but that chief, supposing Bengal to be in a state of disaffection, and the offers of the navob to proceed from fear, demanded the unreasonable sum of ^athree corores of rupees as the price of his forbearance. Mahabut Jung, though resolved not to consent to terms so exorbitant and dishonourable, yet willing to gain time, in hopes that the rainy season, now near, would stop the Mharatta from action, and allow him effectually to punish Mustapha Khan, instructed his ambassador to amuse Ragojee with professions of compliance. In consequence of this, nearly two months were wasted in negotiation at Burdwan, where the enemy encamped; and, at the expiration of that time, Mahabut Jung received the happy intelligence of the defeat and death of Mustapha Khan, who had with great additions to his former force invaded Bahar, thinking to make it an easy conquest, as the invasion of the Mharattas would prevent succours being sent from Bengal; but the abilities and good fortune of Hybut Jung prevailed against him.

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^a Chunar is a district in Benaras, and will be long celebrated in India for having been the refuge of Mr. Hastings during the rebellion of Cheyt Sing.

^b Three millions sterling.

The navob, who had continued at his capital in order to convince Ragojee that he was sincere in his desire of peace, now ordered his ambassador to return, and sent him this vaunting message: "Those who seek peace from an enemy, are guided either by a sense of their own loss or inferiority, or hopes of advantage; but, praised be God, the heroes of the faith feel no dread of encountering infidels. Peace therefore depends upon this, When the lions of Islaum shall so engage the monsters of idolatry, that they shall swim in the blood of each other, and struggle till one party shall, overpowered, beg for quarter." Ragojee replied, "that to obtain this crisis, he had already advanced near a thousand miles from his own country; but the navob had not yet moved one hundred, to do him the honours of a meeting." Mahabut Jung rejoined, "that the rainy season being arrived, and Ragojee having suffered fatigue and inconvenience from his long march, it would be prudent for him to spend the inclement months in some convenient spot, that his troops might refresh, and prepare for engagement in the dry season, when he would respectfully wait upon him, even to his own dominions." Ragojee, accordingly, encamped in Beerbhoom, and reduced the province of Cuttac and most of Burdwan by his detachments.

A. D. 1745.

In the beginning of the cool season of 1158, Mahabut Jung marched from his capital to offer battle to the enemy. Ragojee had by this time moved into Bahar, in order to form a junction with the remains of Mustapha Khan's adherents, who still continued to infest the hilly part of that province under Mortuzza Khan, son to the deceased chief, and Bullund Khan, a principal officer, but were too weak to venture into the open country alone. The navob, not being able to overtake the Mharattas, encamped at Baukipore, a short distance west of Patna, for some time; but on hearing that the enemy had crossed

crossed the Soane to join the Afghauns, he proceeded to Mohib Aleepore, on the banks of that river.

Ragojee having effected his purpose of joining the rebels, advanced towards the navob's army in great force, and several engagements took place, in all which the latter was victorious, particularly in one, when the Mharatta general was so completely surrounded that he must have been taken prisoner, had not Shumsheer Khan and Serdaur Khan, two of Mahabut Jung's officers, who were privately negotiating a treaty with the enemy, purposely let him escape. This discovery of treachery alarmed the navob, and he again offered terms to the Mharatta, but Ragojee would not accept them; and seeing no advantage in opposing Mahabut Jung in the field, by advice of Meer Hubbeeb, he proceeded suddenly by quick marches towards Moorshudabad, in hopes of being able to plunder that city before the navob could reach it with his army. Mahabut Jung, however, moved with such expedition, that he arrived only one day after the enemy, who had only time to ravage part of the suburbs, and retreated, on his approach, across the river Bhauruttee. The navob followed Ragojee to Cutwa, near which he obliged him to engage, and defeated him with great slaughter, when the Mharatta retreated towards Midnapore. Here, having received intelligence of insurrections in his own country, Ragojee returned hastily to Berar with the bulk of his army, leaving Meer Hubbeeb and the Afghaun chiefs for the defence of Cuttac; upon which the navob, giving up for the present the recovery of that province, returned to his capital, in order to refresh his troops and correct some abuses which he had discovered among his principal officers.

It has been already mentioned, that Serdaur Khan and Shumsheer Khan, during the campaign had suffered Ragojee to escape, when

when they might have made him prisoner. The navob had also, while the Mharattas were in the neighbourhood of the capital, entrusted the protection of the roads between it and Bogwaungolah, from whence the city was furnished with supplies from the districts eastward of the Ganges, to those officers, who, either through neglect or design, allowed the marauders more than once to plunder the convoys. The navob, upon this, removed them from that duty, which he entrusted to his nephew Sowlut Jung, who fulfilled it to his satisfaction, and intercepted letters from Ragojee to the former commanders, which proved their connivance. Mahabut Jung had concealed his suspicions till the retreat of the Mharattas; but, upon his return to Moorshudabad, he dismissed them with their followers, about six thousand men, from his service, but allowed them to retire to their homes in the district of Durbunga, on the eastern side of the Ganges, in the province of Bahar. In this season of temporary repose were celebrated the marriages of his grandson, Serauje ad Dowlah, and Ikraum ad Dowlah, son to the late navob Alla ad Dowlah, who had been adopted by Shawamut Jung, who had no children. Upwards of two thousand rich dresses were distributed on this occasion among the attendants at court, and, during a whole month, the populace were feasted at the expense of the navob. The magnificence of these nuptials, the brilliant illuminations, splendid pageants, and grand processions of the bridegrooms, are still spoken of with admiration by the inhabitants of Bengal.

Mahabut Jung, having now resolved to attempt the expulsion of the Mharattas and Afghauns from Cuttac, appointed ^aMeer Jaffier Khan to the command of a considerable detachment for that service, giving him, by way of encouragement, the

^a The same person who, after the decease of Mahabut Jung, by the assistance of the English, acquired the musnud of Bengal.

the *fojedaurees* of Injalee and Midnapore, in addition to the office of paymaster general. Meer Jaffier, on his arrival at Midnapore, defeated a small body of the enemy, when, being much addicted to luxury and indolence, he did not pursue his advantage, but put his troops into cantonments, though the *navob* ordered him to proceed to Cuttac without delay, before the enemy could be reinforced from Berar, the chief's son of which, Janojee, was preparing for a fresh invasion. At length, the expected Mharatta army entered Cuttac, and Meer Jaffier, not chusing to hazard the defence of Midnapore, retreated towards Burdwan, when the advanced party of the enemy, observing his pusillanimity, hung upon his rear, and plundered his baggage of several elephants. Mahabut Jung, upon this, dispatched Atta Oollah Khan with a reinforcement, to supersede him in the command, and moved also himself from the capital with his army, to support him, if necessary. Atta Oollah at Burdwan engaged the enemy, and defeated them; but having secretly designs on the government, the accession to which he had been foretold by a fanatic officer in his service, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, he thought the present a proper occasion to assume independance. For this purpose, he endeavoured to corrupt Meer Jaffier by a promise of the government of Bahar, if he would assist in deposing the *navob*. Meer Jaffier at first listened to the proposal, but, at the remonstrances of his friends on the danger of the attempt, withdrew his concurrence. Intelligence of this treacherous combination, however, having reached Mahabut Jung, he determined to lessen their influence, and, on his arrival at Burdwan, reprimanded Meer Jaffier severely for his conduct in Midnapore, upon which that chief refrained from his usual attendance at the *darbar*. Atta Oollah Khan, proud of his late victory, and not suspecting that his evil designs were known to the *navob*, demanded the command of a thousand horse for Meer Alee Afgir, the fanatic officer who had

had prophesied his exaltation, and had greatly distinguished himself in the action; but this the navob refused, and Atta Oollah being disgusted, threatened to leave the army. Mahabut Jung was not to be moved, and he accordingly retired with his followers to Moorshudabad. The navob would now have overlooked the faults of Meer Jaffier, and, on the death of a relation, condescendingly went to pay him a visit of condolance, as a mark of returning favour; but that chief, supposing this honour to proceed from a dread of his influence, insolently neglected the complimentary advance from his tent to meet him; on which the navob, in great wrath, laid aside his intentions, after he had gone half way, and returned to his camp. He now ordered him to give in the accounts of his office, and send Shujan Sing, his deputy, with them to the durbar. Meer Jaffier refused; upon which the navob removed him from all his employments, and offered service to his followers in other corps, which they readily embraced. The general, finding himself deserted, would have made concessions, but the navob ordered him to leave the army, and retire to the capital.

Mahabut Jung, notwithstanding this dissention and the loss of two of his generals, kept the field, and defeated the Mharattas in several engagements. Janojee attempted, like his father, to plunder the capital; but the navob followed him with such rapidity, that he had not time to execute his designs; and, on the approach of the rains, retired to Midnapore, where he cantoned, and Mahabut Jung marched to Moorshudabad, not chusing to pursue him farther till the dry season. Meer Alee Afgir, the prophesying fanatic, was now obliged by the navob to quit the provinces, though Shawamut Jung used every entreaty with his uncle to allow him to remain in the city with Atta Oollah Khan, whom the navob yet permitted to reside there.

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near the city; when Hybut Jung again visited ^a Serdaur Khan. The two next days were chosen for the generals to pay their respects to him separately, at the palace, and the navob, in order to obviate any fears they might have of treachery, commanded that only his domestic servants should attend him, even to the exclusion of his usual body guards. Serdaur Khan came the first day, and having received the customary tokens of esteem, returned to his camp. The following morning Hybut Jung repaired to his hall of audience, to receive the promised visit of Shumsheer Khan, and, as on the day before, would not permit any guards to attend, allowing only a few officers of his household to be present. First came nearly a thousand of the Afghaun infantry, with matchlocks and matches lighted, who, after saluting, arranged themselves in the square of the palace. A chief, named Moraud Sheer Khan, next entered, with a crowd of officers, who filled the hall, and eagerly pressed to present their offerings. This being done, Hybut Jung enquired after Shumsheer Khan, and was told he was not far off. Moraud Sheer Khan now ordered his companions to take leave, and make room for others. They rose, and according to custom, received each a betel from Hybut Jung, who was earnest in distributing it, when one of the Afghauns, suddenly drawing a dagger, aimed a stroke at him, but without effect. One of the navob's attendants immediately cried out "Treachery;" but Hybut Jung had only time to draw his sabre, when Moraud Sheer Khan cut him down, and he fell dead on the pillow of his musnud. Several of his attendants were slain; and the palace being filled with the traitors, also the streets of the city by the soldiers of Shumsheer Khan, no resistance could be made by the dependants of Hybut Jung. The Afghauns committed great excesses in the town, the inhabitants of which had no remedy

^a It is said, this chief was not a partner in the treason, as far as respected the assassination.

medy but to submit to their authority. Shumsheer Khan ordered Hajee Ahmud to be brought before him, and demanded an account of his treasure; but, declining a discovery, he was tortured in various modes for seventeen days, till at length he expired, not unjustly punished for his treachery, and share in the murder of the unfortunate Alla ad Dowlah. About * seventy lacs of rupees were found buried in his house, besides jewels and other valuables to a great amount. The effects of Hybut Jung were seized, and his Begum Ameena, the daughter of Mahabut Jung, with his other women, forcibly carried to the camp of Shumsheer Khan; who, leaving the city under charge of his deputy, fixed his head quarters at a little distance, and engaged in raising new levies with the plunder he had acquired, intending to invade Bengal. The wealthy inhabitants of Patna were obliged to pay large sums, to save their houses from being plundered, and a heavy contribution was exacted from the people at large by the rebels.

Mahabut Jung, though inwardly deeply affected at the deaths of his brother and nephew, the disgraceful captivity of his daughter, and the loss of Bahar, threatened also with that of Bengal by the invasion of the Mharattas at this alarming crisis, did not lose his intrepidity of mind, but sustained the storms of calamity with manly resolution, and prepared to combat the attacks of misfortune. He convened his principal officers, some of whom he had reason to suppose connected with the rebels, being of the same tribes, and desired their advice for his conduct in the present unhappy juncture of his affairs. They unanimously declared, that they would loyally obey his commands. He replied, that his beloved brother and nephew being slain, and their families plunged in disgraceful captivity, he found life, under

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* Seven hundred thousand pounds.

such misfortunes unrevenged, intolerable, therefore knew no remedy but to punish the rebels, or die in the attempt. If therefore any wished to follow him to this extremity, he would spare nothing to reward them; but neither would he detain those who might chuse to quit his service, having already received more obligations from them than he could repay; and as he had resolved to seek death rather than lead a dishonourable life, but few followers were necessary to enable him to obtain the former. The chiefs, one and all, exclaimed, "that they owed him inviolable gratitude for his long experienced bounty towards them, and had no views but to sacrifice their lives if necessary in his service;" to perform which, they bound themselves by oath on the Koraun. Mahabut Jung, now convinced of their fidelity, paid up their arrears, and prepared to march against the rebels. The Mharattas by this time had advanced from Burdwan, and began to lay waste within a short distance from the capital; but the navob knowing that to follow these marauders, who always avoided coming to action, would be vain, and give time to the rebels in Bahar to gather strength, was not to be diverted from his purpose. He stationed Sowlut Jung at Bogwaungolah, to preserve the communication for supplies open between the Ganges and the city, which he entrusted to Shawamut Jung, Atta Oollah, and Nowauzush Mahummud Khan, with a body of five thousand horse. A proclamation was issued, that he found it necessary to march against the rebels, though the Mharattas were in the environs of the city; and, recommending, to such as chose it, to retire with their families to places of greater security, previous to his departure. Most of the inhabitants who could procure conveyance, accordingly moved with their families and effects across the Ganges; so that scarce any but the soldiery and poor remained. Having finished his preparations, he moved from Amaunee Gunge, with an army of twenty thousand horse and

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as many foot. In order to secure provisions, he had collected a large fleet of boats, amply laden, to accompany his march up the banks of the Ganges. Meer Jaffier on this occasion was again taken into favour, restored to command, and the office of paymaster general.

Mahabut Jung reached Monghyr without opposition, except in a trifling skirmish with the Mharattas at Bhaugulpore, who had marched to join the rebels. Here a messenger was intercepted with letters from Atta Oollah Khan to the insurgents, in which he encouraged them to stand, and offered to embrace their cause at a convenient opportunity. The navob was joined at Monghyr by some of the Bahar zemindars and dependants of the late Hybut Jung, who informed him, that the rebels had left Patna, and were encamped at Bar, in number about fifty thousand horse and foot, expecting to be joined by the Mharattas.

Janojee and Meer Hubbeeb having reached the vicinity of the rebels' camp, invited them to a conference, at which they embraced the service of the Mharatta chief, and Shumsheer Khan was invested by him with the khelaut of the soubahdary of Bahar. The next day Meer Hubbeeb visited Shumsheer Khan, who after his audience left him to repose, but privately directed the guard over the tents, when he should prepare to return to his own camp, to detain him, as a security for the payment of the expenses he had incurred in levying an army for the service of the Mharattas, at whose instigation he pretended he had assassinated Hybut Jung. This scheme by some means coming to the knowledge of an attendant of Meer Hubbeeb, he directed some of the horsemen who had accompanied him, to leave the camp, but to return suddenly, as if pursued by an enemy, and spread an alarm that the navob's army was in fight; in hopes that, by this stratagem, he might save his master from the

the intended treachery. The horsemen spread the alarm, as directed, and much confusion occurred in the rebel's camp; but notwithstanding the representations of Meer Hubbeeb, that the present was no time for settling accounts, he was not allowed to depart till he had paid a considerable sum, and given the security of merchants for a much greater. This dispute proved highly favourable to Mahabut Jung, by preventing the Mharattas from acting in conjunction with the rebels, as the former now resolved to watch only an opportunity for plundering either army. The following day the navob offered battle to the enemy, and, by his usual good fortune, Serdaur Khan was killed by a matchlock ball in the beginning of the action, which involved one half of the rebels in confusion, and spread alarm through the troops of Shumsheer Khan. At this juncture the Mharattas appeared in the rear, hoping to effect the plunder of the navob's camp, while he was engaged. Upon Serauje ad Dowlah's representing that it was proper to detach a body to oppose them, he replied, "that he would first defeat his enemy in front, and then with ease disperse the Mharattas." Having said this, he charged the rebels with great fury, and they fled panic-struck before him. Shumsheer Khan, being deserted, was attacked on his elephant by an officer named Hubbeeb Beg, who slew him, and cutting off his head, brought it to Mahabut Jung. The Mharattas, seeing the defeat of the rebels, withdrew from the field without striking a blow, and the navob quietly took possession of the Afghani camp; which they had left standing, with all their tents and baggage, a prey to the victors. Here the navob found his daughter, the Begum of Hybut Jung, and the rest of his family, who had been made prisoners at Patna. Having offered up thanks for this, on his side, almost bloodless victory, and the happy retrieval of his insulted honour, he proceeded to Patna, where he distributed large sums to the religious and poor, in gratitude to God for his success, and took

measures for repairing the losses of government in the late rebellion. Having sent for the women and children of the principal insurgents from Derbunga, on their arrival he lodged them in his own haram, treating them with humanity and kindness, and after a short time set them at liberty. At this time also, he permitted the women and family of Meer Hubbeeb, who had been confined since his joining the Mharattas, to return to him, and furnished them with money, conveyances, and an escort for their protection to the enemy's camp. Having resettled the government of Bahar, he returned triumphantly to Moorshudabad; but, previously to entering the city, obliged Atta Oollah Khan to quit it, and, as soon as possible, his dominions; permitting him, however, to remove with all his effects and nearly * seventy lacs of rupees, which he had acquired in his service, though he had repeated proofs of his having conspired against his life and government. Atta Oollah Khan retired into the province of Oude, and was soon afterwards slain, in an action in the service of Suffder Jung against the Patans of Ferokhabad. Janojee, the Mharatta chief, after the defeat of Shumsheer Khan, not thinking himself equal to Mahabut Jung in the field, retired with his army into Midnapore; and soon after, on receiving intelligence of the death of his mother, marched to Nagpore, leaving Meer Hubbeeb with a detachment for the defence of Cuttac. The nabob stationed a considerable body of troops at Burdwan, to watch the motions of the enemy.

Mahabut Jung, at the conclusion of the rains, moved again from his capital, in order to drive the Mharattas from Cuttac; and, on his approach, they evacuated the city. He followed them from place to place, during the dry season, without being able to bring them to action; but on his return to Moorshudabad

A. H. 1160.

A. D. 1747.

* Seven hundred thousand pounds.

abad, the enemy again obtained possession of the province. Bengal was this year free from their depredations; a point, which the navob esteemed an ample reward for the fatigues of his campaign. The next year he renewed his efforts, and the marauders evaded his pursuit as usual; which made the navob resolve to canton for the rains at Midnapore: but buildings were scarcely erected, when he received intelligence that Serauje ad Dowlah, his favourite grandson, had left Moorshudabad, with intentions of taking possession of Patna, which was governed in his name by Jaunejee Ram, and assuming independance.

A. H. 1165.
A. D. 1751.

Mahabut Jung, who loved his grandson to distraction, was more alarmed for his safety in any opposition he might receive from the governor of Patna, than any ill consequences to himself from the rebellion. He instantly left his army at Midnapore, and with a small force hastened to Moorshudabad, where he remained only one day to refresh his troops, and then followed the imprudent youth; to whom he wrote in terms of the greatest affection, assuring him that he meant him for his successor, and entreating him to return to his protection. Serauje ad Dowlah wrote an insolent reply, in which he accused the navob of promoting his uncles to offices of trust, and treating him only with pretended fondness; that he was weary of being controuled like a child; and, since he would not give him a share in authority, he was resolved to seize what he regarded as his just right. Therefore, he hoped his grandfather would not attempt to oppose him, as the consequence must be, that either he would have his head in his bosom, or his own must be laid at the feet of the elephant of Mahabut Jung. The navob returned for answer, that Serauje ad Dowlah through imprudence and want of judgment had causelessly accused him of want of regard; for he not only intended him the succession to his own dominions, but to the government of the empire, could

could he obtain it for him. He concluded his letter with the following sentences. "The religious champion, eager for martyrdom, is unmindful that the martyr to love exceeds him. In the last day they will not be compared together, for one is slain by an enemy, but the other by a friend."

Serauje ad Dowlah, on his arrival near Patna, summoned the governor, Raja Jaunejee Ram, to deliver up the city and repair to his presence; assuring him of favour in case of his obedience. The raja was at a loss how to act, being fearful of surrendering his charge without orders from the navob, and alarmed, lest any accident should happen to Serauje ad Dowlah if he opposed him; but, at length, he resolved on defending the city, till he should hear from Mahabut Jung. The imprudent young man assaulted the town without delay; but Mhadée Nissar Khan, the principal adviser and leader of his rebellion, being killed early in the attack, his followers fled, and Serauje ad Dowlah with difficulty sheltered himself in a house in the suburbs. The raja, rejoiced that he had escaped unhurt, immediately sent some of his principal officers to attend him to a residence befitting his rank; and by the persuasions of his friends, he consented to return to his grandfather. Mahabut Jung was overjoyed at his escape, and hastened to meet him. Instead of reproaches, he received him with the greatest affection, and a joy bordering on weakness, as it made Serauje ad Dowlah exert the influence he now saw he had over him, to his discredit and dishonour. The navob, having spent a few days at Patna, returned with his grandson to Moorshudabad; but was seized on the road by an intermitting fever, which continued long upon him. On his recovery, he marched against the Mharattas, who yet infested the province of Cuttac, and, as usual, unable to bring them to a decisive engagement, spent the dry months in pursuing them from place to place. The

two following years were expended in the same desultory warfare, when at length both parties, being tired of war, began equally to wish for an accommodation of their disputes. Mahabut Jung yielded to the Mharattas the province of Cuttac, and agreed to pay annually twelve lacks of rupees, as the *choute* of Bengal.

The navob, by this peace, being freed from all his enemies, gradually discharged his superfluous troops, and employed himself in encouraging his people to rebuild the villages which had been destroyed, and cultivate the lands in many districts, long waste, from the desertion of the inhabitants during the repeated invasions. From this period we find nothing remarkable in his life, the remainder of his government being uninterrupted by vicissitude. As he had chosen Serauje ad Dowlah for his successor, he latterly entrusted him with a power, which was too often employed for the destruction of those, against whom he had any pique, or was jealous of their attachment. Housfein Koollee Khan and his brother, the favourites of his uncle Shawamut Jung, he assassinated, and put to death other persons of rank, without being punished by his grandfather; which acts of cruelty estranged from him the minds of the people, and prepared the way for his own future destruction.

A. D. 1755.

In the year 1169 died Shawamut Jung, nephew to the navob, and son to Hajee Ahmud. He possessed many good qualities, and was much esteemed by the people for his clemency, and charities to the friendless and poor. His death was speedily followed by that of his brother Sowlut Jung, who had for many years governed the district of Poornea, with credit to himself and satisfaction to the inhabitants; his misfortune at Cuttac having corrected the warmth of his disposition, and taught him prudence and humanity

* The Mharattas still keep up this claim, but, since the death of Serauje ad Dowlah, it has not been paid.

nity. Both these princes are well spoken of by the natives of Bengal, and their memory respected. Shawamut Jung died without issue; and Sowlut Jung left only one son, who succeeded him in his government, under the title of Shokut Jung; but was shortly deposed and slain by his cousin Serauje ad Dowlah.

Mahabut Jung did not long survive the death of his nephews. In the eightieth year of his age, being seized with a dropfy, he submitted for some days to the advice of his physicians; but finding himself growing worse, and judging that at his time of life a recovery was not to be expected, refrained from medicine, and refused longer to follow any regimen. The expectations of his death caused great disputes among his relations. His eldest daughter, Gooseety Begum, widow of Shawamut Jung, retired with her treasures to * Mooteejeel, and distributed large sums among the followers of her late husband, in hopes that they would support her against her nephew Serauje ad Dowlah on her father's demise. Such policy was only the influence of her declining fortune. When Mahabut Jung was in his last agonies, some of his women desired he would recommend them to the care of his intended successor; but the navob knowing his bad qualities, observed, smiling to them, "that if he for three days should behave dutifully to his grandmother, then they might entertain hopes of his tenderness." Shortly after this, he departed to the divine mercy, on the ninth of Rejib, 1169, A. D. 1756. after a government of sixteen years over the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. He was buried the following night, near the tomb of his mother in the garden of Khoosh Baug.

X x 2

" Thou

* A country palace near Moorshudabad. The principal building stands in a piece of water called Mootee Jeel, or Pearl-lake. It was erected by Shawamut Jung, and is a stately pile, being ornamented with many pillars of black marble, brought from the ruins of Gour or Lucnowty, the ancient capital of Bengal.

“Thou didst guide him, O Lord, for he was among thy servants. O forgive him his offences, for thou art most merciful.”

Mahabut Jung from his early youth was not addicted to idle pleasures, as wine, or ^a opiates, music, or the company of courtezans. He was regular in his devotions, and assiduously abstained from all things forbidden by the divine law. He generally rose two hours before day, and after ablution and prayer, drank coffee with his select companions. At day break he gave public audience, when the commanders of his army, the civil officers, and persons of all ranks who had any applications to make, were admitted without reserve to set forth their business, and received satisfaction from his bounty. At the expiration of two hours he retired to a private apartment, where such only as were invited came. These were generally his nephews Shawamut Jung and Sowlut Jung, his grandson Serauje ad Dowlah, and particular friends. Pieces of poetry were now recited, or history or anecdotes read to him; and sometimes he even amused himself with giving directions to his cooks, who prepared victuals before him according to his palate. The officers of different departments, if necessary, also came for orders. He then sat down to eat with his friends, and many shared the bounties of his table. When the meal was over the company retired to repose. At this time, a story-teller always attended to relate some amusing narrative. He generally rose about an hour after mid-day, performed his devotions, and read in the Koraun till near four. After saying the prayers for that time, and drinking a draught of water cooled with ice or saltpetre, he received several learned men, in whose company he daily spent an hour, hearing them discuss points of divinity and law for his information. When they retired, the officers of the revenue, with Jugutt Seet, his banker, were admitted, and gave him the intelligence

^a Commonly used in India to intoxicate.

gence received from Dhely and every province of the empire, also of each district of his own government, when he issued his orders to them as affairs required. An hour passed in this manner, and sometimes his near relations were allowed to be present. By this time night set in, lights were brought, and with them certain jesters and buffoons, who entertained him with their repartees on each other for a short time. He then retired to prayers; after which he sat in privacy with his own Begum, to receive the visits of near female relations, till nine o'clock. The women then departed, and men were admitted who had business with him, till he retired to sleep, generally early, and without eating. In this manner he passed his time, having stated hours for every employment. He was unequalled in his benevolence to his relations, friends, and former acquaintance in his lower fortunes, particularly to those who had shewn him the smallest kindness when he was distressed at Dhely, in his youth, sending for them or their children to his court, and conferring favours upon them beyond their expectation. The people at large during his life experienced such care and satisfaction from his gentle administration, as could not be exceeded by the indulgence of a parent; while at the same time the lowest of his officers grew rich in his service. He was intelligent in all affairs, and encouraged the deserving of every profession. Affable in manners, wise in state affairs, courageous as a general, he possessed also every noble quality. When the French general, Mr. Buffly, after the death of ^aNafir Jung, wrote to him in pompous terms of his victory, and recommended the factory of ^bChandernagore to his protection, he reflected upon the similarity of disposition between his intended successor, Serauje ad Dowlah, whose enmity to the English he was apprised of, and the unfortunate soubahdar of Dekkan;

^a Nafir Jung was Nizam of Dekkan. He was surprized and slain in a conspiracy of his nobles, assisted by the French, in the year 1755.

^b Belonging to the French in Bengal.

Dekkan; at the same time saying, "He feared that after his death the Europeans would become masters of many parts of Hindoostan." Mustapha Khan, his principal general, had endeavoured to prevail upon him to expell the English from Calcutta, and seize their wealth; but receiving no answer to his advice, urged it again, through the navob's nephews, Sowlut Jung and Shawamut Jung. Mahabut Jung returned no answer, but shortly after said in private to the latter, "My child, Mustapha Khan is a soldier, and wishes us to be constantly in need of his service; but how came you to join in his request? What have the English done against me, that I should use them ill? It is now difficult to extinguish fire on land; but should the sea be in flames, who can put them out? Never listen to such advice as his, for the consequences would be fatal."

* An allusion to the fleet.

SERAUJE

SERAUJE AD DOWLAH.

SERAUJE ad Dowlah, after the customary mourning, having assumed the musnud of his grandfather without opposition, sent a party of his troops to remove Gooseety Begum, his aunt, from the palace of Mooteejeel to a place of security, and to confiscate her effects. Her adherents, who had received large sums from her to oppose his accession, deserted her immediately on the death of Mahabut Jung, except a few, who also were so alarmed when the palace was surrounded, as to be incapable of resistance. Meer Nuzzer Ali, who had been her chief adviser and confidant, having bribed the officers of the party to make his peace with the navob, left the Begum, whose person was confined, and her treasures seized. Serauje ad Dowlah displaced many of the officers of government, and filled their places with young men, the companions of his pleasures. He treated the servants of the late navob, mostly persons advanced in years, with such slight and disrespect, as gave them great offence, and estranged them from his interest. Not long after his accession, he marched towards Raujemahal, with a design to dispossess his cousin Shokut Jung of the province of Poornea; but was diverted from his purpose, by information that Kishen Boollub, son of Rauje-boollub, dewan of Shawamut Jung, had fled to Calcutta, and was protected by the English, Mr. Drake, the governor, having refused to deliver him up at the demand of the navob's officers. Upon this he returned suddenly to the capital of Moorshudabad.

Serauje

Serauje ad Dowlah, in whose brain the vapour of pride had arisen, and made him wander far from the path of caution and forbearance, having resolved on quarrelling with the English, was tortured with the fire of impatience. The companions and old servants of Mahabut Jung durst not breathe a remonstrance in his presence, and many, from the degradation they had undergone and the advancement of low persons, wished the overthrow of his power; so that no one gave him proper advice, nor did he ask it. Those who were his counsellors and favourites, were mostly rash, and weak of understanding, unacquainted with the rules of policy, and infatuated with their sudden promotion; or, regarding opposition to his will as destructive to their own interest, did not dare to contradict him. Serauje ad Dowlah was a weak man, void of useful qualities, and intoxicated with youth and prosperity. The probable consequences of any measure entered not into his mind; and the hearts of the men of understanding about him were inflamed with disgust at his unreasonable fury, or the dispute with the English might have been settled easily by negotiation. There was no cause for kindling the flames of war; but as providence had decreed the downfall of the family of Mahabut Jung, and other great calamities, the reins of government over Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which form an extensive empire, fell into the hands of two weak and tyrannical youths, Serauje ad Dowlah and Shokut Jung, who in the end suffered for their crimes.

To proceed; Serauje ad Dowlah in the beginning of Ramzaun marched towards Calcutta; and the English, who had no force to oppose him in the field, retired into their factory to defend themselves. Their outposts were soon taken by the nabob, who had a great army; and Mr. Drake, the governor, being struck with a panic at the state of his affairs, saw safety only in flight. Without informing the whole of his countrymen of his

his intention, he fled to a ship with a few persons. The remainder, out of regard to their honour, fought while they had any ammunition, preferring death to disgraceful life, and drank the sherbet of dissolution with heroic valour. Some being overcome, fell prisoners into the hand of providence. An invaluable treasure in money and effects was plundered from the warehouses of the Company, the English, Hindoo, and Armenian merchants, by the soldiers and followers of the camp; but Serauje ad Dowlah acquired nothing from his conquest, but the seeds of his destruction. Having remained a few days at Calcutta, he returned to the capital, leaving the command of the place to Manneck Chund, dewan of the Raja of Burdwan, a weak and cowardly person, who had given proof of his treachery by deserting Mahabut Jung when he was surrounded by the Mharattas.

Soon after the conquest of Calcutta, Serauje ad Dowlah marched against his cousin Shokut Jung, the sejedaur of Poorneah, whom he reduced with little opposition, and acquired a great accession of treasure and territory by his victory. He returned triumphantly to his capital; but his fortune was now at the highest. It is the established custom of this world, that when any thing has reached the point of perfection, it begins to decay, and finally becomes annihilated; so as to leave not a trace for enquiry behind it. An instance of this truth, and the cause of Serauje ad Dowlah's ruin, may be seen in the following pages.

Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, having escaped on board a ship with some gentlemen, retired to Madras, and other Englishmen, employed in merchandise in various parts of Bengal, also found means to escape from the country. At this time, colonel Clive commanded the company's forces in the

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province

* A considerable division of Bengal.

province of Arcot, which he had rescued from the hands of the French. It was agreed by the government of Madras, that he should repair with a force to Bengal, and endeavour to regain the factory of Calcutta, either by force, or payment of a sum of money. Being arrived with his troops in the river, he cast anchor; and as the chiefs of the English are very cautious, wise, and valiant, having sent proposals of accommodation to Serauje ad Dowlah, he entreated his forgiveness of Mr. Drake's faults, and offered some lacs of rupees, on condition of being allowed to occupy the factory as formerly. Serauje ad Dowlah was the most inconsiderate of men, and his ministers were weak, and ignorant of the valour and abilities of the English. The intelligent had no power of offering their advice, and the chief men of the country wished his ruin, wearied out with his oppressions. If any one did offer an opinion contrary to the navob's, he and his foolish companions, intoxicated with conceit, treated it so disdainfully as to make him repent, and resolve on silence in future. No answer was returned, and at length Colonel Clive, tired of delay, and having obtained information of the characters of the rulers of Bengal, resolved on war. He anchored his ships opposite the residence of Manneck Chund, and began to play his artillery, which causing confusion among the enemy, he landed his forces, and attacked them. Manneck Chund, unable to resist, fled with his army, and the colonel, having taken possession of the factory and town, exalted the standards of victory. Serauje ad Dowlah, upon intelligence of this, was awakened a little from his slumber of conceit, and prepared to march and punish the English.

Serauje ad Dowlah had spent two months and twenty two days in the enjoyment of pleasure, when at once, the measure
of

* The author makes no mention of Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive being considered by the natives as chief of the English.

of his crimes being full, the signs of his downfall appeared. On Monday the twelfth of Rubby al Sani, 1170, he marched from his capital towards Calcutta, and having encamped in the vicinity of that city, some days passed in skirmishing with the enemy. The English opened a negotiation, with a view to find out the state of his army, having intentions of attempting a surprize by night. Under pretence of a message to Serauje ad Dowlah, they sent two persons of their own nation, possessed of the qualities of valour, quick perception, memory, and judgment, who having observed the situation of the navob's tents, might commit particulars to the treasury of their remembrance; and they well performed their commission. I forget whether it was the same night, or one or two after, that the English, being ready for the attack, embarked a body of their troops in boats, and proceeded cautiously up the river to the skirts of the camp, where they waited till about half an hour before day. Then, having entered in the rear of the line, they marched on firing without intermission, while those who remained in the boats did the same as they fell down the river. Great slaughter was made among the troops of the navob. Dost Mahummud Khan, a general of rank and merit, was wounded. It was reported, that the English intended if possible to carry off Serauje ad Dowlah prisoner; but at this time a thick fog covered the camp, which rendered it hard to distinguish persons close to each other, so that they missed the quarter of his tents, and marched another way, the navob by this accident escaping captivity. The English regained the town in safety. Serauje ad Dowlah and his cowardly army, from the alarm of this night, to them a symbol of the last day, lost the powers of their minds, which were overwhelmed with terror and affright. Judging it dangerous to remain longer so near the city, the navob summoned his father in law, Mahummud Eeruch Khan, and

November,
A. D. 1756.

Y y 2

other

* Messrs. Watts and Sraffon.

other chiefs, to consult on future proceedings; who, observing his terror, advised the removal of the camp to a greater distance, and to offer terms of accommodation, which counsel was immediately executed. The English, seeing the alarms of the naveb, now demanded a compensation for their effects plundered by his army when he took Calcutta; which, after much negotiation, was agreed to, and Seranje ad Dowlah gave up six districts in the vicinity of the factory, as a security till the sum settled should be paid up. A treaty having been ratified and all affairs settled, through the medium of Mr. Watts, Seranje ad Dowlah returned to Moorshedabad, and now reflected upon what in the days of his pride he had never considered. He trembled for his situation, and was irresolute how to regulate his conduct. Having become ashamed and repentant of some of his vices, he at length found out that there was a God. Doste Mahummud Khan had retired for the cure of his wounds to Saffaram; Meer Jaffier Khan, Raja Deolubram, and other old officers, he found disaffected to his person, and wished to extinguish the flames of their disloyalty, but knew not how to effect it. He had no resolution of his own, or might either have bound them to his interest by a renewal of favour and kindness, or have put them to death, and raised up ministers capable of conducting the affairs of his government. He had no advisers free from self-interest to persuade him to employ the experienced servants of Mahabut Jung in preference to themselves, or of sense to know that from his prosperity theirs would also be derived. From these reasons, he would at one time, when enraged with passion, order cannon to be planted against the house of Meer Jaffier Khan, or command Doolubram to obey his favourite, Moin Laal, or treat Juggutt Seet with contemptuous threats.

At

At this time, the English having taken the factory of Chandernagore from the French, Mr. Law, with a band of soldiers and some artillery, having escaped from the enemy, sought protection at Moorshudabad, and offered his services to Serauje ad Dowlah, who readily received him. Upon this the English, either at the instigation of the disaffected chiefs, or of their own accord, represented through their agent, that as there was a treaty subsisting between them and the navob, by the articles of which the friends or enemies of either party were to be considered as such by both, he acted contrary to it by receiving the French, with whom they were at war. The navob advised with Mr. Law how to act; who observed, that if indeed he assisted his nation against the English company in the field, it would be a breach of treaty; but that it could be none for him, who entertained thousands of every cast, if he kept a few Frenchmen also in his service. An answer similar to this was conveyed to the English, who, however, renewed their remonstrances at the instigation of the disaffected; and these persons under pretence of regard to his welfare, observed, that to quarrel with the English for the sake of a few distressed Frenchmen was unwise, and would occasion much confusion. At length, Serauje ad Dowlah commanded Mr. Law to retire to Patna. Mr. Law at taking leave told him, that most of his chiefs were disaffected to his person, and leagued with the English in intentions to depose him, which was the cause of advising his dismissal; that on his departure they would set him at variance with the English and destroy him, which they could not effect while he remained to assist him. Serauje ad Dowlah felt the truth of his observation, but was too timid to keep him at his capital. He promised to recall him when necessary; but Mr. Law said, "I know we shall never meet again." After his departure, the navob's disputes with Meer Jaffier, Doolubram, and other chiefs, arose to greater heights, insomuch that they

they, with Juggutt Seet, being in fear of their lives, resolved, in order to save themselves, to effect his destruction. Gooseety Begum also, who hated Serauje ad Dowlah, and was irritated at his seizure of her treasures and estates, used every means to excite the resentment of her friends against him, and to procure their assistance for Meer Jaffier, whom she also supplied with large sums of money, which she had secreted by means of her eunuchs and female attendants.

Meer Mahummud Jaffier Khan and the other chiefs agreed, that the surest method of deposing Serauje ad Dowlah, would be to excite the English against him. With this view, Juggutt Seet employed his agent, Ameen Chund, a principal merchant of Calcutta, Doolubram some other person, and Jaffier Khan, Ameer Beg, who had some connection with the English, to whom he had been of service when their factory was taken. These persons represented the outrageous conduct of the nabob to their principals, and the general desire of the provinces for his removal. They even produced a written request to the English, that they would march for this purpose, and, by a little trouble, deliver a world from tyranny and oppression, for which they should receive ^athree corores of rupees, and other favours. The particulars of the nabob's cruelties to Gooseety Begum and others, were also displayed, and the paper was attested under the seals of those persons who suffered injuries.

The English, who are unequalled in valour and sentiment, (and who is it that does not wish for conquest?) upon intelligence of these circumstances, determined on war with Serauje ad Dowlah; but as it is their custom, and indeed of every wise people, not to break with any one without a reason assigned, doubtless they gave one to him, of which I am not informed. It was,

^a Three millions sterling.

was, most probably, that of his delay in payment of money settled by treaty for the losses at the capture of Calcutta.

War being resolved on, colonel Clive, known here by the title of Sabut Jung, prepared to march; upon intelligence of which, Serauje ad Dowlah, overwhelmed with dread, tried, when too late, to reconcile his dependants, who pretended to be attached to his person, the better to cover their own designs. He dispatched Doolubram, with the greatest part of his army, to throw up intrenchments at Plassey; but he spent his time in secret negotiations with the English, and securing the troops in his own interest and that of Jaffier Ali Khan; who, renewing his attendance at the durbar, and apparently reconciled to Serauje ad Dowlah, found means, by promises and other methods, to draw over most of the officers about the navob's person to his designs, so that very few remained loyal. Upon intelligence of colonel Clive's having begun his march from Calcutta, Serauje ad Dowlah reluctantly, his heart divided with hope and terror, moved from Munfoor Gunge to Plassey, where the English, at the utmost not exceeding three thousand men, natives and Europeans, shortly arrived. On Thursday, the fifth of Showaul, 1170, the flames of battle were lighted up. As Europeans, and the English in particular, are celebrated for the skilful management of artillery, colonel Clive began his attack with a cannonade, so unremitted and instantaneous, as confounded the fight of his opposers, and overcame their faculties of hearing. Meer Jaffier Khan and his associates in treachery beheld the enemy at a distance, safe from injury; but Meer Muddun and others, ready to sacrifice their lives or acquire victory, bravely opposed the enemy. They were, however, unable to charge from the violence of the cannonade, but kept resolutely, though slowly, advancing, till at length they gained the Grove of Plassey; and, it is said, that colonel Clive, not expecting

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pecting such resistance, abused Ameen Chund and accused him of treachery, saying, "that he had represented the army of Serauje ad Dowlah as disaffected to his person, but now the contrary appeared from their valiant opposition." Ameen Chund replied, "that the present enemy was only Meer Muddun and a few chiefs, who were faithful to the navob; but when he was routed, the truth of his representations would appear." During this conversation, as revenge was decreed for the crimes of Serauje ad Dowlah, Meer Muddun, who was truly brave, and cherished the seeds of fidelity in his heart, received a mortal wound from a cannon ball. He was carried immediately to the navob, and having uttered a few words expressive of his loyalty, resigned his soul to the Creator of life. Serauje ad Dowlah by his loss was involved in despair. Having sent for Meer Jaffier, who refused for some time to obey the summons, the navob in abject terms besought his protection; and, I have heard, that taking the turban from his own head, he placed it at the feet of Jaffier, saying, "I now truly repent of my behaviour towards you, and offer your obligations to Mahabut Jung, my grandfather, and our relationship, as intercessions for your forgiveness. I now regard you as holding his place, and beseech for pardon to your slave, conjuring you to act as becomes your character as a descendant from the prophet, and your ancient obligations, in defending my life and reputation." Meer Jaffier Khan, judging this a fit opportunity to complete his treachery, advised, that as but little of the day was remaining, the troops should be recalled to their tents, and promised in the morning to repulse the enemy. Serauje ad Dowlah urged his fears of another night attack; but Jaffier assuring him he would guard against it, he sent orders to his dewan Moin Laal, who had accompanied Meer Muddun and was still engaging the enemy, to return to the camp. The dewan sent for answer, that the present

sent was not a time for retreat, for, if he should retire, alarm would spread among the troops, who would probably fly in confusion. The navob a second time advised with Jaffier Khan, who insisted on the retreat of the dewan, or he would not act; upon which he repeated his orders, and Moin Laal reluctantly obeyed.

When a man's ill fortune prevails, he does that which he should not. The troops, as had been foreseen, construing the return to camp into defeat, began to fly in great numbers. Serauje ad Dowlah seeing this desertion, much alarmed by the enemy in front, but much more apprehensive of those about his person, at length left the camp, about half an hour before sunset, and arrived early the next morning at Munsoor Gunge. Here, though he besought his attendants to remain with him till he could prepare for escape, and fix on some proper place of refuge, he could not prevail, but was deserted by numbers. Even his wife's father, Mahummud Eeruch Khan, though the navob begged him to stay and collect troops, either to defend him where he was, or accompany him in his retreat, refused, and hastened to his own house at the city of Moorshudabad. As a last resource, the navob opened the doors of his treasury, and distributed large sums to the soldiers, who received his bounty and deserted with it to their homes. An immense sum was thus, to him unprofitably, expended. He was ungenerous when he should have been liberal, and oppressive to mankind, and now saw the consequences of his crimes, suffering in his own person for the calamities he had inflicted upon others. Having remained till night at Munsoor Gunge, and finding himself almost deserted by all, he took with him his jewels and some other valuables upon elephants, and with Lootf al Nissa Begum, and two or three favourite women in covered carriages, quitted his palace about three in the morning,

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and hastened to Bogwaungolah, where he embarked upon the Ganges, with the design of seeking refuge in the fort of Patna. In this proceeding he was also imprudent; for, had he kept the land, and called the jeminautdars of the villages to his assistance, they would have escorted him in safety, in hopes of being rewarded, and he would have been joined by numbers of his troops, when recovered of their panic and hearing of his escape; but, alas! who can remedy the ills of fate? His reason for flying by water, was the hope of meeting Mr. Law, to whom he had written pressing to hasten to his assistance, on the first intelligence of the march of the English, and to come down the river for the greater speed. Mr. Law received the letter, but, according to the usual delay in Hindoostan, before he could procure from Ramnarain the money ordered for his expenses, some time elapsed. He left Patna, but hearing of the defeat and death of Serauje ad Dowlah, on reaching Raujemahal, he retreated, and major Coote was afterwards sent in pursuit of him to the frontiers of the provinces.

When Meer Jaffier found that fortune had favoured his designs, by the retreat of Serauje ad Dowlah, he remained at Plassey, and had an interview with colonel Clive, with whom and the English troops he the next day entered Moorshudabad, and issued proclamations of safety to the inhabitants in his own name. His partners in conspiracy, and those who, loving quiet, were attached to no party, hastened to present congratulations and offerings; and such as did not approve his conduct and were secretly attached to Serauje ad Dowlah, (they were but few) not chusing to be singular, through fear did the same. Having seated himself on the musnud of the provinces, he sounded high the trumpet of power and exultation, and employed himself in settling affairs and dividing the treasures of the palace, as had been agreed, between himself, Raja Doolub-
rain,

ram, and the English. As he was ambitious of copying Mahabut Jung, he assumed the same titles on his seals, and conferred those of that navob's relations on his own. He dispatched his son in law Meer Caufim Khan in pursuit of Serauje ad Dowlah, and issued orders to Meer Daood, the commandant of Rajemahal, to be vigilant in preventing his escape from the province. The unfortunate fugitive, being arrived on the bank opposite to Rajemahal, and with his women pressed by hunger, after a fast of two days, disembarked at the cell of a devotee, named Dana Shaw, of whom he asked help in procuring victuals. To this man, in the days of power, he had offered some affront, the memory of which still dwelt upon his mind. The fakeer received him courteously, and provided food, but privately dispatched information of his important guest to Meer Daood, who, with Meer Caufim, hastened to the cell, and took him prisoner, with his women and effects. Serauje ad Dowlah now entreated for life of those men, who had lately trembled at his name, and suffered their reproaches. He begged to be allowed a moderate income and a retired dwelling. Meer Caufim Khan obtained by threats and promises a casket of jewels from the Begum to an immense amount, and each of the captors a valuable booty. The dewan Moin Laal had before this been seized at Moorshudabad, and his effects and life were taken by Doolubram. On Sunday, the fifteenth of Showaul, Serauje ad Dowlah arrived, a disgraced captive in the hands of his servants, at Moorshudabad. When the people beheld him in this situation, they forgot his vices, and recollected only the hardship of his present fortune, comparing it with the splendour they had seen him surrounded with from his infancy till now. It is said, that several jemmutdars, as he passed their quarters, were so penetrated with grief and anger as to prepare to rescue him, but were prevented by their superiors, who had expectations of reward from his rival; so that the virtue of the weak

of no effect. Meer Jaffier was at this time at Munsoor Gunge, but his son Meeraun at Moorshudabad. This young man surpassed his father in every evil quality, never hesitating to shed blood. He regarded readiness to punish as good policy, and mercy as folly. With such ideas he was fond of comparing himself to Mahabut Jung. He ordered Serauje ad Dowlah to be confined and put to death; but no person of rank would undertake the murder. At length, a wretch named Mahummuddy Beg, who from his infancy had been cherished by Mahabut Jung and Serauje ad Dowlah, from whose grandmother he had received a portion with his wife from charity, offered to execute the horrid deed. When the unfortunate navob saw him approach his person, he said, "Art thou come to kill me?" and, upon receiving a reply in the affirmative, began to pray; then suddenly exclaimed, "Will not they let me live somewhere in obscurity? No, no, it cannot be; I must be sacrificed for the murder of Houssein Koollee Khan." The assassin now inflicted several wounds, and the navob falling down, cried, "It is enough, my task is over, and revenge is finished." Having said thus, he resigned his soul to the Creator, and left this world of crimes by the sword of cruelty. His body was placed upon an elephant, and carried through the city, exposed to the populace. It is said, that the driver of the elephant, by accident stopping at the spot where Serauje ad Dowlah had assassinated Houssein Koollee Khan, some drops of blood fell from the body upon the same ground.

"Be warned by example, O ye men of understanding, and view well the revolutions of fortune. Place not your reliance upon the world's success, for it is uncertain and inconstant, like a publick singer, who goes daily from house to house. Give not thy affection to a damsel, who every day changes her
"gallant.

* A near relation of his own.

“gallant. In the eye of the wise, fortune is as chaff, blown
“about by every wind. Didst thou possess the treasures of the
“world, what thou hast expended in benevolence will alone
“profit thee.”

When the corpse of the navob approached the residence of his afflicted mother, guessing the disaster from the clamour of the populace, she burst from her apartments, and ran into the street, beating her breast, but was forced back with blows, by order of Khadim Houssein Khan, who sat upon the terrace of his house to view the exposure of the body of his lord's son. Jaffier Khan was asleep when the unfortunate prisoner had arrived, and did not wake till after the murder, when being informed of his coming, he sent to his son, commanding him to be careful of his person. Meeraun, on receiving the order, laughed, and said, “I am not so weak as to be neglectful in such affairs;” and to his companions he vauntingly exclaimed, “My father just now sent, but I had before completed the affair, for am I not, my friends, son to the sister of Mahabut Jung? How then could I be careless upon such an occasion?”

MEER

MEER JAFFIER KHAN.

MEER Jaffier having thus become navob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shortly after his accession prepared to march towards Patna, having some doubts of the submission of Ramnarain, the deputy governor of that city; and also to quell some disorders which had broken out in the district of Poorneah from the rebellion of some principal dependants of the late fojedaur, Shokut Jung. In the month of Suffir, of the year 1171, he moved to his camp, leaving his son Meeraun in the direction of affairs at Moorshudabad. Here, having some suspicions of Meerza Mhadee, brother of Serauje ad Dowlah, he commanded him to be put to death. Some report, that he was dispatched by poison, and others, that he was pressed to death between two boards used to tighten bales of shawls. The cause of this action was the disaffection of Raja Doolubram, who now repented of having espoused the cause of Meer Jaffier, and was privately conspiring to rescue Meerza Mhadee from confinement and declare him soubahdar, not having been rewarded for his late treachery, as he expected.

Upon Meer Jaffier's arrival at Raujemahal, having appointed Khadim Houssein Khan fojedaur of Poorneah, he dismissed him to restore order in that district, which was effected with little opposition, the rebels being deserted by their adherents at the sight of his army. Ramnarain, upon the approach of the navob towards

towards Patna, unwilling to trust his promises of safety for his person and continuance in employment, endeavoured to obtain the support of the English; for which purpose he dispatched his agent Geeda Mul to procure assurances of protection from colonel Clive, before he would agree to visit the navob. Geeda Mul represented to the navob, that his master was fearful of visiting him without the security of the English; to which Meer Jaffier readily agreed. The vaqueel having gained over the secretary, prepared a paper, and brought it for the approbation of the navob, who being at that time somewhat intoxicated, would not read himself, but ordered his secretary to tell him the contents, which he did in a slight manner, and varying from the spirit. The navob being satisfied, sent the paper to colonel Clive, requesting that he would copy and ratify it with his seal, which he did, and kept the draft. The contents of the paper were in these words: "You may come with safety and satisfaction of mind. "The security of your person, honour, fortune, and continuance in employ, without settling your accounts, rests upon me." Geeda Mul hastened upon the wings of speed to Ramnarain, who repaired without hesitation to the navob's camp; where, however, he visited first colonel Clive, who sent an officer of rank to introduce him to Meer Jaffier. The navob was offended at his disrespect in not coming first to him, and commanded him to remain in the camp, which he did, till the arrival of the army at the city of Patna.

Meer Jaffier upon his arrival at Patna was visited by all the respectable inhabitants, to pay their allegiance upon his accession to the soubahdary, and among them were many, who having formerly lived with him on terms of intimate equality, hoped to share the advantages of his exaltation, but were mostly disappointed, by a cool reception. Among these was Meerza Shumse ad Dien, who, in the days of his distress, had assisted him with
a sum

a sum of money, and now hoped to have it repaid, and to enjoy the favour of the navob; who, however, assumed towards him a distant behaviour, fearful, as the Meerza was a man of wit, and free of speech, that he might assume too much upon their former intimacy. One day it happened, notwithstanding, that Shumfe ad Dien being admitted to his presence, was going to speak, when the navob, expecting a reproach, said, "I have not forgotten your former kindness, which I mean to repay; but at present the expenses of the English army and other contingencies are so great, it is not in my power. When God shall give me ability and opportunity, I will not be unmindful of your obligations." The Meerza, pretending feelings of compassion, said with a fobbing accent, "No more, my Lord, I am struck with your sufferings; but, alas! Serauje ad Dowlah plundered my house, or I should now have esteemed contributing to your relief as an honour." Meer Jaffier was womanishly fond of jewels, of which he always wore great numbers in his higher fortunes. On this day, his neck, arms, wrists, and turban were more richly ornamented than usual, and the Meerza wittily said, "To be sure, these few stones about your person are not of any great value to any one; but I should think a blow from one of your highness's hands as an honour and satisfaction." Again, some enemy of the Meerza's informed the navob, that his attendants had picked a quarrel with those of colonel Clive, who was much offended; and the Meerza coming in soon after, Meer Jaffier reproved him, saying, "Know you not the rank of the colonel, that your people should dare to insult any of his friends?" The Meerza, putting on a look of submission, exclaimed, "My patron, how dare I even look the colonel in the face with steadiness, who every morning of my life make three obeisances to his *ass." Meer Jaffier was silent, and pretended not to understand the meaning.

After

* Alluding to Meer Jaffier's being supported by the colonel.

After some days spent in ceremony and entertainments, Meer Jaffier, who intended conferring the government of Patna upon his brother Cauzim Khan, demanded from Ramnarain an account of his disbursements, and the balance of revenue due to government; but the wily Hindoo, who had, expecting this demand, secured the protection of the English, complained to colonel Clive, who represented it to the navob as a breach of faith. The navob replied, that he saw no reason why he should resign the province to Ramnarain, and injure his own brother, for the promise of the colonel. Clive observed, that he had before told his highness of the disagreement which the interference of the English would occasion; but as, notwithstanding, he had importunately entreated him to write a letter of protection under his own seal, he must therefore now abide by the contents, for he could not suffer a breach of his promise. Meer Jaffier denied having sent him instructions to write what he had done; but the colonel, producing his own draft, he was silent on the subject to him, but abused his secretary and Ramnarain's vaqueel for imposing upon him, who, however, insisted that they had written literally according to his instructions, which he had forgotten in the multiplicity of business. He was obliged to confirm Ramnarain in his employment, as the colonel insisted on his observing the engagement. This affair being settled, the navob made a pilgrimage to the tomb of a celebrated fakeer, and afterwards convened a numerous assembly of devotees, for whom he made an entertainment on the bank of the Ganges, at Patna; where he also celebrated the Hindoo feast of Hooly with much festivity and splendour. He then began his return to Moorshudabad, hunting on his march with a select party of his attendants at a distance from the main body of his army. He was accompanied as he moved by troops of musicians and singers upon elephants, who entertained him with their harmony. Amid such luxuries he re-

gulated the country as he passed, and at length reached the palace of Mahabut Jung at Moorshudabad, where, plunging more and more into profusion and voluptuousness, he became regardless of all public affairs. Meeraun, his son, puffed up with vanity, copied the manners of the dissipated of Dhely, about four thousand of whom he had taken into his pay as soldiers. Giving himself up to women and debauchery, with equal avidity as his father, though more excuseable, being in the height of youth, there was no one to attend to the business of government. The troops at length became so distressed through want of pay, that they pined with hunger, and turned their horses loose upon the plains, for want of grain to feed them. Except the few thousand guards of Meeraun, his women, and favourite attendants, with those of the navob his father, no one was regularly paid; and the controul of these extensive provinces was left to the direction of three spies, Cheeny Laal, Munny Laal, and Aknoon Sing. By their influence the renters were protected in embezzling the revenues, so that shortly there was not money sufficient carried to the treasury to bear the expenses of the navob and his son.

When only one year and three months of this wretched government had elapsed, the troops were driven to despair, and the knife had now reached the bone; till, at length, Abd al Hadee Khan and other chiefs conspired to remove Jaffier Khan from the musnud by assassination, when he should attend the *assembly of mourning in the month of Mohirrim; but many persons being in the plot, some one betrayed it to the navob on the second evening of the meeting, and he came no more into public. Enquiry was made into the particulars of the treason, and many turned informers to save their lives. Abd al Hadee

* In commemoration of the deaths of the Imaums, grandsons of Mahumud.

Hadee Khan, finding himself discovered, fortified himself in his own house, till, at length, obtaining leave to quit the provinces, he embarked with his family from Moorshudabad; but was afterwards seized and put to death, on his way up the Ganges, by a band of Afghans, commissioned by the nabob for that purpose. Meer Casim Khan, another of the conspirators, was also assassinated. The widow of Mahabut Jung, his daughter Gooseety Begum and Ameen Begum, also Lootf al Nissa, the widow of Serauje ad Dowlah, and her infant daughter, being suspected of encouraging the plot, were sent into confinement at Dacca. About three months after this, rumours were spread of the prince Ali Goher's intention to enter Bengal. This intelligence alarming the nabob and his son, they, for their own safety, paid up part of the arrears due to the troops, and promised more attention and regularity in future.

Ramnarain, the deputy governor of Patna, was a man of much cunning and intrigue, void of any real regard to Meer Jaffier Khan and his family, but, from the connection he had formed with the English, he dared not openly act contrary to treaty, though secretly he wished his destruction, and was on the watch for opportunity to effect it. Rajas Sunder Sing and Pulwaun Sing, two principal zemindars, out of gratitude to the protection of Mahabut Jung, hated Meer Jaffier, as the destroyer of his family, and meditated rebellion. The greatest number of the principal people of the provinces, disgusted with the bad qualities and tyranny of the late nabob, had been pleased at his deposeal, judging, that as Meer Jaffier was advanced in years, and had long served Mahabut Jung, he would follow his example; but upon his accession to power, experiencing his behaviour, and more particularly the cruel actions of his son Meeraun, a monster of his time, they now regretted the fall of Serauje ad Dowlah, and the old saying of "Bless our former ruler," was

A a a 2

revived

revived on the tongues of the wise and the simple. Meer Jaffer, who, when paymaster to Mahabut Jung, was celebrated among the troops for his profuse liberality, upon ascending the musnud, became as much decried for his avarice. It is said, that a person asking him the cause of this change in his behaviour, he replied, that in Mahabut Jung's time the public treasure was another's; but now it was his own, his heart felt uneasy to part with it.*

In this situation of affairs, the prince Ali Goher, eldest son of the reigning emperor, having made his escape from the hands of his father's minister, who wished to keep him in confinement, sought protection with Mahummud Koollee Khan, the soubahdar of Aleabad. This nobleman was a young man of courage, but of little conduct. Ambitious of enlarging the limits of his government, he was easily tempted, by reports of disorders in Bahar and Bengal, to attempt their conquest under the royal sanction; for which purpose he offered his services to the fugitive prince, who readily accepted them. Mahummud Koollee was also supported in his hopes by assurances of aid from Shujah ad Dowlah, his cousin, and soubahdar of Oude; who, however, was not sincere in his promises, and only promoted the expedition in order to remove his relation from the fort of Aleabad, which he wished to seize for himself. Mahummud Koollee Khan had also received invitations to invade Bahar from Sunder Sing, Pulwaun Sing, and other disaffected zemindars. The former was truly attached to the family of Mahabut Jung, and burned with ardour to revenge the ruin of his family. He possessed true honour, courage, and many other good qualities; so that, had fate permitted him, he might have attained his object; but his life was too short.

Under

* In his pleasures, however, he was ridiculously profuse, and lavished sums upon them, which, paid to his troops, would have secured his power.

Under pretence of regulating his districts, and visiting Raja Ramnarain, he left his fortress of *Teekaurry, formed an encampment, and began to levy troops. While making preparations, a favourite officer desired the advance of a thousand rupees; which demand, as the like had often been repeated, caused the raja to say in a jesting manner to his attendants, "Gholaum Ghose inherits much bravery from his father, but this meanness of borrowing is from his mother, and darkens his better qualities." Gholaum Ghose, hearing of this observation, was much enraged, and resolved to murder his patron. He came and asked for a thousand rupees; upon which the raja told him, "Such importunity was not decent," and begged he would desist; but the other impudently declared he should not rise till he had given him the sum. The raja, upon this, attempting to rise, he seized his garment, crying, "Sit down till you give me the money." Sunder Sing exclaimed, "Are you mad?" when the traitor stabbed him mortally with a dagger; then rushing on the attendants, he wounded several, and forced his way through them. Mounting his horse, he fled from the camp, but was overtaken by Soorut Sing, a relation of the deceased, who called out, "It is cowardly to fly, return and fight me." He stopped, and dismounting from his horse, a bloody conflict took place. At length, the traitor's sword being broken, he rushed upon his antagonist and threw him to the ground. At this time some villagers appearing, Soorut Sing cried out, "Why stand you? behold here the murderer of your prince!" Upon this, they ran upon him and put him to death with clubs and swords. Thus was Sunder Sing prevented in his career of joining the prince.

In the year 1172, Mahummud Koollee Khan, under the royal standard of Ali Gohir, who had procured from his father the emperor grants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, began his march

A. D. 1759.

* A district in Bahar.

march towards Patna. When Raja Ramnarain heard of his having approached beyond Banaras, he was much alarmed, neither the navob nor the English army having yet moved from Moorshudabad. The dignity of the royal name, and the terror of the Mogul arms, filled his mind with dread, and made him act with caution. He pitched his camp at a little distance from the city, resolving to join either the prince or the navob, whoever should first arrive in his vicinity. Hearing that the royal army had crossed the Carumnassa, and that Meer Jaffier had not yet left the capital, he thought it wisest to treat with the former; but first asked the advice of Mr. Amyatt, the chief of the English factory at Patna, observing, that "without the arrival of the navob's army, he was unable to cope with the enemy." Mr. Amyatt replied, that "as to himself, if assistance arrived, he would remain at Patna; but if not, on the near approach of the enemy, he would retire some days' journey to the eastward towards Bengal, and wait the orders of council or contingency of events; that as for Ramnarain, he should try to amuse the enemy as long as he could, till orders or help arrived from the navob; but in case he was hard pushed, to proceed as he should find most for his own advantage."

The Raja, having received the advice he wished for, began to amuse both parties. He wrote to Meeraun and colonel Clive, that he was prepared to resist the enemy, but could not brave them alone, therefore hoped they would hasten to his relief; and at the same time he sent emissaries to secure the favour of the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan. * I was at this time at Patna, with my mother and family, but in much dread, as Meer Jaffier and Meeraun having heard that my father, Huddaiut Ali Khan, was with the prince, had written to Ramnarain to observe my motions, as they believed that I and my relations

* Gholam Houssein, the native writer of these events.

relations were the excitors of his expedition. But the truth is, I had not the least acquaintance with the enemy, nor correspondence with my father, who had long resided at Dhely, where, like the rest of the nobles, he spent his time in dissipation, and had married a Cashmirian woman; having no concern at all with us or my mother for near sixteen years, during which he enjoyed offices of great emolument. We also, from the kindness of our relations Mahabut Jung and his nephews, passed our time in ease and affluence, nor wanted his notice; so that, except a letter of ceremony now and then, there was no other communication between us.

Ramnarain was well informed of these particulars, and on the receipt of the navob's letter assured me of his protection from his jealousy. Upon the approach of the prince nearer Patna, Mr. Amyatt with the rest of the English embarked in their boats, and retired twenty or thirty cofs towards Bengal, leaving their factory under the protection of Ramnarain; who by this step was confirmed in his resolution to visit the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan. He was, however, advised against it by Raja Moorlydher, chief of the spies, who judged Meer Jaffier would in the end prevail from the assistance of the English; and he thought justly: but Ramnarain was deeply impressed by the awe of royalty, and the slowness of the navob and the English. When resolved upon his conduct, he sent for me privately, and asked me to go and secure him the prince's favour through the mediation of my father. I complied, and set out for the camp. On the road I met several spies, who confirmed the news of the prince's approach. Arriving at ^a Aroul, I saw Muddar ad Dowlah, who was going on the part of the prince, and Meerza Mahummud Ali on that of Mahummud Koollee Khan, as agents, to Ramnarain, mounted on elephants,

^a A town a few days' march from Patna.

elephants, with one hundred horse. I was astonished, that any other should be sent on this business than my father, who was intimately acquainted with the province and its principal inhabitants. When I had travelled a little farther, I heard that my brother Nukkee Ali Khan had joined my father, who had summoned him by letter. This gave me much concern, as there was no cause for his thus subjecting himself to the resentment of the navob of Bengal. About sunset I reached the prince's camp, had an interview with my father, and soon discovered, that, from his haughtiness of disposition, he had not courted the attention of Mahummud Koollee Khan, like Muddar ad Dowlah and others, under whose influence the prince acted, as upon him indeed he depended for subsistence. I asked him, "Why he had joined the prince, since it could answer
"no purpose but vexation of heart, and the loss of our jag-
"hires in Bahar, which we had obtained at the expense of so
"much time and trouble." He gave me an angry reply; but I perceived that he felt the truth of my observations. However, it came indeed rather too late, and his situation was pitiable; for whenever the prince, who was hasty and inconsiderate, acted contrary to the wishes of Mahummud Koollee Khan, he considered his conduct as originating from the advice of my father. In short, Muddar ad Dowlah, being arrived at Patna, persuaded Ramnarain by threats and promises to visit the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan; who, on their parts, agreed that he should be continued in the soubahdary. Hearing of this, one day before that appointed for the interview, I represented to my father, "that Ramnarain was very artful
"and circumspect; that under awe of the prince's name and
"the Mogul arms, he had been led to submission; but, upon
"seeing the true state of the camp, would repent of his timidity,
"and if allowed to return to the city, would never come back." My father angrily replied, "that the family of Timur never
"dealt

“dealt with treachery to any one.” I answered, “that I did not hint that treachery should be used, but only that the prince and his army should enter Patna with the raja, when he must of necessity become their friend, and upon intelligence of the fall of the city, the navob’s army would advance less rapidly.” He answered, “that Mahummud Koollee Khan had the power.” I advised him to inform him; but he said, “that, as he never consulted him, there was no cause for his intruding his advice.” This enraged me, and I told him, “he had given our family to the winds.” He became more angry, and I was silent.

The day following, I went with my father to the royal tents. The arrival of the raja, and his being long in private with Mahummud Koollee Khan, was announced. Losing all patience, I mentioned what I had observed to my father, to Moneer ad Dowlah and others; but in vain. At length, Mahummud Koollee entered the royal presence, and, having made his obeisance, took his place as vizier on the left of his highness. He instantly began to praise the raja, saying, “He was a wise Hindoo, and spoke the Persian with great readiness; in short, that he was so much pleased with his abilities, that he had appointed him his own dewan, and given him the deputation of Aleabad.” The prince naturally asked him, “How he could place such confidence in a person at first sight?” when Muddar ad Dowlah and others, who had been gratified by the raja with a few thousands of rupees, immediately uttered forth his praises for wisdom, fidelity, and all good qualities, offering to be his pledges. In a little time the raja arrived, and being obliged to use all the ceremonies of royal audience, which he had never till now been accustomed to, he came up to the throne with a terrified aspect and parched lips, to present his offering, which I forget whether the prince or Muddar ad Dowlah

lah took from him. He was then invested with a khelaut; but, as he had himself till now been only a bestower of them, he was much wearied with the numerous obeisances, necessary at receiving every separate part of the dress. When this was over, having stood and recollected himself a little, I saw him observing the wretched appearance of the prince, and the strange manners of his attendants, with contempt, shame at his having come to an interview, and impatience to return. He was soon dismissed, and went with Mahummud Koollee Khan to his tents, who permitted him to leave the camp; and the raja, immediately upon his arrival at Patna, issued orders to shut the gates, and man the walls of the city. For some days, he continued to amuse the prince and Mahummud Koollee Khan with trifling presents and messages, in order to prevent hostilities till the arrival of the navob's army; and such was the weakness of the enemy, that they suffered themselves to be imposed upon by his excuses. At length, Mahummud Koollee Khan wished to move his camp to the eastward of the city, through which was the common road; but Ramnarain representing to him that some disorders might arise on the march, from the irregularity of the Mogul troops, he consented to go another way; though this denial of a passage made it clear to all, but himself, that the raja was deceiving him till the approach of the navob's army. He encamped for some days near the gardens of Jaffier Khan, and the raja kept up the farce of loyalty, by pretending to prepare a statement of the revenues of the province and the balance in the treasury; till, at length, intelligence of the march of Meeraun and colonel Clive from Moorshudabad arriving, and the enemy becoming more urgent in their demands, he drove the messengers of Mahummud Koollee Khan from the city, by the importunate advice of Moorlydher, who was apprehensive of the navob's suspecting his loyalty; otherwise,

Ramnarain

Ramnarain would have amused them without hostilities, till the arrival of the Bengal army.

It is a just observation, "that the weak man acts the same
"as the wife, only not till after disgrace;" and so it was
with Mahummud Koollee Khan. On receiving the raja's mes-
sage, which was, "that he considered himself as a servant of
"the navob of Bengal, and had only visited him as a guest of
"his master's, but did not understand his demand of the pro-
"vince," he flew into a violent rage, vowing that he would
bring him by force to the prince the next day. Accordingly,
in the morning he began to cannonade, and the siege was car-
ried on for some days with great briskness. In all probability,
Patna would have fallen into his hands, had not the operations
been interrupted by intelligence, which caused him to raise the
siege and retreat. This was, that Shujah ad Dowlah, who had
obtained his permission to shelter his women in the fort of Ale-
abad, on pretence of marching to join him, had treacherously
seized that place, and possessed himself of the province. Ma-
humud Koollee retired from Patna, and the prince, unable to
act with his own small army, reluctantly accompanied him. On
his arrival at Phoolwawree, only four miles from the city, he
was met by Mr. Law; who had hastened with his small band
of Frenchmen from Chutterpore, (where he had resided since
the fall of Serauje ad Dowlah) to offer his services. Mr. Law
remonstrated with him, but in vain, on the folly of a retreat
when he was so near success. He marched onwards, and Mr.
Law went to visit the prince, and offer his assistance. The
prince unhesitatingly informed him, "that he depended on
"Mahummud Koollee Khan even for his daily expenses, and
"without him could not continue the siege; therefore must re-
"tire to Chutterpore, in hopes of support from the raja of
"that country." Mr. Law offered to accompany him, and

B b b 2

marched

marched on in front. Being at Saffaram when he arrived there, I paid him a visit; when he complained loudly of the folly of the nobles of Hindoostan, who, he said, were cowardly, giving up their empire to ruin; that he had travelled from the coast of Bengal to Dhely, and been witness of nothing but oppression of the poor and plundering of travellers. "Though I," said he, "have used every argument to excite such powerful nobles as 'Shujah ad Dowlah and 'Ummaud al Moolk to regulate the empire, and attempt the recovery of Bengal from the English, they would not attend to me, nor understand their real interests."

Soon after Mr. Law had passed, the prince, and with him my father, arrived; who complained heavily of the behaviour of Mahummud Koollee Khan and his highness, asking my advice how he should proceed. I observed, "That as he could not return to Dhely, from the enmity of Ummaud al Moolk, and the prince was unable to support him, there was but one resource left, which was, to join Pulwaun Sing, who had great interest with Ramnarain, and could procure the restitution of our jaghires, forfeited by joining the prince, should Pulwaun Sing submit." This he agreed to; and accordingly went to his camp, where the raja gladly received him. Pulwaun Sing, who was rich and powerful, offered, if the prince and Mr. Law would remain with him, to hazard an engagement with the English and Meeraun; but they would not consent, fearful that, as he was a zemindar, he might treacherously deliver them up to the enemy to make his own peace. It was then agreed, that the prince should, to save appearances, write a letter to colonel Clive, demanding a sum of money as the price

* Navoh of Oude.

† Prime minister of the empire.

price of his retreat; which he commanded me to compose, and it was sent by Nobut Khan to the colonel.

When Shujah ad Dowlah heard of the retreat of Mahummud Koollee Khan, he treacherously commanded Beny Bahadur, his deputy, and Bulwaun Sing of Banaras, to intercept his march, and take him prisoner. They accordingly encamped their forces near ^aRamnuggur, on the high road, and sent word to the prince and Mr. Law, that they did not mean to molest them, but would oppose the progress of Mahummud Koollee Khan; upon which the former separated from him, and continued their route to Chutterpore. Mahummud Koollee, against the remonstrances of his friends, consented to disband his army, and throw himself on the protection of Shujah ad Dowlah; who immediately on his arrival, kept him a prisoner, and shortly after put him to death.

Meer Jaffier Khan, upon hearing of the visit of Ramnarain to the prince, was much alarmed, and entreated the assistance of colonel Clive, who agreed to march with his son Meeraun to the relief of Patna; but it was not the intention of the English, who at this time were unacquainted with the low state of the empire, to oppose, if it was possible to avoid it, the emperor's son, for whose dignity they had much respect; and it is certain, had he and Mahummud Koollee Khan acted prudently, a treaty might have been concluded to their honour and advantage; but their weak conduct ruined their affairs. Meeraun upon his march halted at Rajemahal, intending to allure Khadim Houffein Khan, sojedaur of Poorneah, to an interview, at which he had resolved to assassinate him, being jealous of his power, and fearful of his joining the prince. This design, however, being reported abroad, the sojedaur, who was a prudent man, marched from Poorneah up the banks of the Ganges, giving out that he

^a The palace of the raja of Banaras.

he meant to join the young navob; but upon his arrival at Currangola, nearly opposite Rajmahal, he halted, and sent an agent to colonel Clive, representing his fears of Meeraun's treachery, and begging his protection. The colonel accordingly dissuaded Meeraun from his design; and having met the fojedaar in a boat on the middle of the Ganges, assured him of safety. Khadim Houffein Khan, however, not chusing to visit Meeraun, the colonel obtained for him the navob's permission, much against his inclination, to return to Poorneah, Clive being security for his fidelity to the navob, and the navob's sincerity to the fojedaar. Meeraun then proceeded towards Patna with the colonel; but before their arrival the enemy had retreated. Near the city they were visited by Ramnarain, who artfully excused his interview with Mahummud Koollee Khan, and became more favoured than before. Though he had importunately entreated me to be his agent with the prince, and I had complied with his request against my own inclinations, he now abused me to the navob as a traitor, saying, "It was a strange world, that I should be so deceitful as to desert his service, and join my father;" though he himself was indeed the traitor, for his resolution was to join the enemy, till he saw their weakness. With such arts he preserved his own reputation; but it is surprizing how he could persuade the English that he was their friend, after having visited the enemy. The fact is, he was immensely rich; and, in these days, money can do wonders, even give vice the appearance of virtue. After some days stay at Patna, Meeraun and the English marched against Pulwaun Sing, who fled to the hilly country for security; at the same time sending offers of submission, which were accepted. Ramnarain persuaded the young navob to return to Patna; which he willingly did, being fatigued with the campaign, leaving Ramnarain and the colonel to adjust affairs with the zemindar. Pulwaun Sing honourably insisted on the pardon of my father and the continuance of his jaghires, before

before he would accept his own, which was granted. God be praised, that what I had foreseen, came to pass. The English approved much the letter I had written to them for the prince, and, being moved with compassion, colonel Clive sent him a sum of money. All affairs being concluded with Pulwaun Sing, Ramnarain and the English returned to Patna.

Meeraun being now anxious to return to Moorshudabad, prepared for his departure; but first wished to drive from his service Affaulut Khan and some other officers, of whose attachment he and his father had entertained some suspicions, but had concealed their jealousies on account of the prince's invasion, lest they should have joined him. Meer Jaffier had instructed his son to leave them behind him without their information, lest rage might provoke them to attempt his person; but the truth is, they had no designs inimical to the father or the son. They had ever been attached to Meer Jaffier, and on that account were displaced from the service of government by Serauje ad Dowlah, and suffered great hardships, remaining without employment for twelve months. When I was, by the accident already related, obliged to join the prince's army, I wrote a letter to Dilleer Khan, with whom I had * exchanged turbans, inviting him to embrace the prince's service, and requesting him to escort my family to the camp. He wrote me in answer, that his own head should be security for my honour; but that as for deserting Meer Jaffier, he never would, though he should be forsaken by all.

Meeraun, agreeably to the instructions of his father, till the arrival of Ramnarain pretended much friendship for Dilleer Khan, but afterwards forbid him his presence, and departed suddenly in boats towards the capital, leaving him and his followers under

* By exchange of turbans, persons adopt each other as brothers.

der long arrears of pay. Finding he could obtain no satisfaction from Ramnarain, who pleaded that he had no orders to advance him money, Dilleer Khan, with his friends and followers, went to Teekaury, and offered their services to Futteh Sing and Booniaud Sing, relations of the late Sunder Sing, who entertained them. Not long afterwards, Dilleer Khan joined Kaumgar Khan, the zemindar of Terhoot, in a petition to the prince, that he would march again towards Patna, and his highness readily embraced their offers of assistance. Dilleer Khan would have prevailed on me to join them, but I refused, and repaired to Patna. Ramnarain would have denied me a residence, at the instigation of Moorlydher and others; but Mr. Fullerton, surgeon to the English factory, by permission of Mr. Amyatt, the chief, gave me apartments at his own house, I being intimately acquainted with those gentlemen. Upon intelligence of the prince's approach, Ramnarain encamped with his forces at some distance from the city, and was joined by captain Cochran, with some English soldiers, sepoy, and some pieces of artillery.

The prince had crossed the Carumnassa, and just entered the province of Bahar, when he received intelligence of the murder of his father Aulumgeer 2d; upon which he dispatched an express to my father, then at Housseinabad, commanding him to his presence, and asking his advice on this event. My father, in reply, recommended him to assume immediately the imperial authority, to send the * inkstand of the vizarut to Shujah ad Dowlah, soubahdar of Oude, and the khelaut of ameer al amra to Nujeeb ad Dowlah, a powerful Afghaun chief; also to dispatch Munneer ad Dowlah on an embassy to Ahmed Shaw Abdallee, to request his assistance, and commands to the Afghaun chiefs of Hindoostan to acknowledge him as emperor. The prince, accord-

* The vizier is invested in office by a present of an inkstand and canopy from the emperor.

accordingly, ascended the throne, by the title of Shaw Aulum, and acted according to my father's advice. He was now joined by Kaumgar Khan with five thousand horse, Dilleer Khan, and Affaulut Khan, with their followers, when he proceeded to engage Ramnarain, who was defeated, and with difficulty gained the city. Captain Cochran and Mr. Barwell were killed, with some soldiers and sepoy; but the remainder of the English, having spiked one of their cannon, retreated in good order to Patna. Raja Moorlydher and Omar Khan, a principal chief, were taken prisoners. The emperor and Kamgaur Khan did not pursue the enemy, having suffered much in the action, and lost the two gallant chiefs Dilleer Khan and Affaulut Khan. Had the royal army followed the fugitives, it is most probable, Patna would have fallen without resistance. For some days the city was in the utmost confusion; but at length, no enemy appearing, the spirits of the inhabitants revived.

The emperor next marched to attack Meeraun, who was advancing from Moorshudabad; but the royal army was defeated by the gallantry of the English. In this action Meeraun was wounded. Shaw Aulum, by advice of Kaumgar Khan, now hastened by forced marches through the hills, in hopes of surprising Meer Jaffier in his capital; but the nabob having timely intelligence from his son Meeraun, was prepared; upon which the royal army retreated, and marched by another route towards Patna, hoping, as Meeraun had moved towards Moorshudabad to the assistance of his father, that the city would fall an easy prey before he could return to relieve it. Unfortunately for them, they halted a few days at Bahar, which gave time to Ramnarain to prepare for defence; for the greater part of his troops were with Meeraun, and only a few sepoy in the English factory. Upon intelligence of the approach of the enemy, as many troops as were in the neighbouring districts were called

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in, and Mr. Amyatt encreased his force to about three companies of sepoys, from the several stations. At length the enemy commenced the siege, and a few nights after, Mr. Law and his Frenchmen attempted an escalade, but were defeated by the vigilance and activity of the English and Raja Shittabroy. They repeated their attempt a second evening in a different quarter, with the same ill success; but the spirits of the garrison began to fall, especially of Ramnarain and his followers, when they were revived by the arrival of an English detachment under captain Knox, who had marched from Burdwan in thirteen days, and reached the bank of the river opposite the city the morning after the last assault. The following evening, the English made a sally upon the besiegers, who were easily defeated. Kaumgar Khan now retired towards Gyah Maunpore with the emperor, and raised contributions upon the neighbouring districts, for his support.

Shaw Aulum repeatedly summoned my father to his presence, but he, unwilling to offend the navob of Bengal, evaded coming; till at length, Kaumgar Khan, to oblige him, detached Sheoput Mharatta to plunder his jaghire; he was then forced to comply, being without help, and prepared for his departure to the royal camp. Upon this, Ramnarain endeavoured to excite the resentment of the English against me; observing, that my father, notwithstanding the restoration of his jaghire, was leagued with the enemy and I with him, at the same time that I enjoyed the English protection. Mr. Amyatt spoke to me on the subject, and desired I would write to persuade my father from joining the emperor. I told him, "that
" my writing would be of no effect, while my father was ex-
" posed to the ravages of the enemy; but that, if he should
" be allowed to come and reside in the city, he would wil-
" lingly avoid going to the emperor; that as for myself, I had
" not

“ not the least correspondence with the enemy, since my ar-
“ rival at Patna.” Mr. Amyatt saw the justice of my re-
marks, and assured me of his protection; but desired I would
write, which I did, declaring as before, that my father must
of necessity obey the emperor, while he and his family were in
the open country exposed to his displeasure. It so happened,
he repaired to the royal camp against his inclination, and was
honoured with the first place in his majesty’s confidence.

The enemy continued in the country of Kaumgar Khan and
Teekaury, waiting the success of the embassy to Ahmed Shaw
Abdallee. At this period, Khadim Houffsein Khan, being fear-
ful of the treachery of Meeraun, resolved to join the emperor;
and having seized all the money he could from the inhabitants,
marched from Poorneah with five or six thousand horse, about
seven thousand infantry, and upwards of forty pieces of artil-
lery, towards Patna, and soon arrived near Hajeepore, on the
bank of the river opposite the city. Had he done this before
the arrival of captain Knox, Patna would certainly have fallen
into the hands of the emperor, and Khadim Houffsein Khan
would have acquired great honour. Ramnarain, upon intelli-
gence of his approach, consulted with Mr. Amyatt; who ob-
served, that as the emperor was at a distance from the city,
the raja should detach the greater part of the forces with cap-
tain Knox, who had undertaken to cross the river and engage
with Khadim Houffsein Khan. Ramnarain was astonished he
should think of attempting it with so small a force; but Mr.
Amyatt pressing him, he promised to prepare his troops to join
the English. Mr. Amyatt also desired the assistance of Raja
Shittabroy, who with great willingness joined captain Knox with
his followers, about two hundred horse and foot. The English
detachment consisted of three or four companies of sepoy, one
of Europeans, and two field pieces of artillery. The troops of

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Ramnarain, according to the usage of the present times, delayed their march to settle arrears of pay and other affairs, so that not one man of them joined the captain; but on the contrary, Hummeed ad Dien, a principal jemmutdaur, endeavoured to persuade Shittabroy to return, by representing the folly of attacking such a force as Khadim Housssein Khan's with a handful of men, and insinuating that Ramnarain wished his destruction, and would be glad of the defeat of his own troops, to whom he owed considerable arrears; but that he and other officers had resolved not to risk their lives and fortunes by joining the rash, infatuated English. Shittabroy, however, was not to be diverted from his attachment, and accompanied captain Knox across the river to meet the enemy, who, contrary to the expectation of Ramnarain and the inhabitants of the city, were defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of great part of their baggage and artillery. Upon this Khadim Housssein Khan retreated towards the district of Butteah, and captain Knox, unable to pursue him, lest the absence of his detachment should leave Patna exposed to the emperor's army, recrossed the river a few days after the battle. Shittabroy, by his gallantry and fidelity, deservedly acquired the confidence of the English, who rewarded him with great liberality.

Not long after this event, Meeraun, who had marched from Moorshudabad upon intelligence of the defection of Khadim Housssein Khan, arrived near Patna with his own army and the English forces under the command of colonel Calliaud. Without entering the city, they crossed the river in pursuit of the rebels; who having already been defeated by so few of the English, strove now only to effect his retreat from the provinces. He kept up a sort of running fight for several days with the navob, till his progress was stopped by the hills and the river Ghunduc; so that he must inevitably have fallen into the

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the hands of Meeraun, had not an unforeseen event saved him from destruction.

*As it was now the commencement of the rainy season, and the decree of divine vengeance hung over Meeraun, about the third hour of the night of Wednesday the eighteenth of Zee-kaud, 1173, a heavy storm began. The world was dark and gloomy to Meeraun and his associates, and the splendour of the day of his life and prosperity changed to the black night of destruction. About a third part of the night was elapsed, when his companions, with his attendants, were dismissed. Meeraun, to guard against the violence of the storm, quitting his large tent, retired to a smaller one, called, from the inventor of it, a Dulleel Khaunee, low, and without walls, secured by strong pegs fixed in the ground very close. A favourite courtesan, with whom he generally slept, also two or three other singing girls, a story-teller, and a domestic to ^bpat his limbs, were with him. As the life of the women was yet to remain, after a short time he dismissed them; when the domestic began to pat his feet, and the story-teller his charm, to the sleep of death. God knows, whether he was sleeping, or his eye wakeful in expectation of the messenger of fate, when, in the height of a most heavy shower, the threatening thunder of avenging anger roared, and the lightning of wrath descended on the head of Meeraun; who reached the place of final vengeance in the posture in which he lay upon his bed. The same flash falling on the domestic and the story-teller, killed them also.

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* This is the true account of Meeraun's death; which Mr. Burke, deceived by false reports, in the opening of his charges against Mr. Hastings, attributed to the treachery of the English government.

^b This patting of the limbs is common in the East, to promote circulation of the blood.

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Some time after the accident, when the fury of the storm had abated, the attendants whose turn it was to watch, coming in, saw them in the sleep of death, and immediately, without noise or clamour, informed some of the principal officers, whose tents were nearest. Upon examination, five or six small holes were found on the back part of his head, and, on his body, streaks like the marks of a whip. His scymetar, which lay near his head on the bed, had also holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tentpole appeared as if rotted.

Meeraun was of a bloody and unrelenting disposition. With him, the slightest jealousy was sufficient to bring death on its object. By his instigation, Khaujeh Hadee Khan and Meer Cauzim Khan were assassinated on suspicion of disloyalty. He killed several women of his haram with his own hand, and would boast of the act, saying, "this was the true mode of clearing up doubts, and easing the mind of jealousies." With this savage ferocity, he procured the death of Ameena Begum and Gooseety Begum, the daughters of Mahabut Jung, whom he caused to be drowned; and among his papers was found a list of many persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign, determined, as he said, to rid himself of the disloyal, and sit down in repose with his friends. But the Almighty, who is protector of the universe, would not permit such barbarity. When he beholds a people immersed in wickedness, he commits the guidance of power over them to a tyrant, that he may punish their offences: but he lets not that tyrant remain for ever over his servants. The government of the oppressive has no permanency, for the scripture truly says, "Dominion may continue even with infidelity, but cannot with cruelty. If, indeed, after necessary severity, the cruel become just, he may establish their power; or else, remedy-
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“ing evil by evil, he sends one more cruel than themselves to
“overthrow their prosperity.”

On the nineteenth, in the morning early, the fate of Meeraun was disclosed by his servants to colonel Calliaud, the commander of the English army, who agreed with them on the propriety of concealing his death from the troops. The body being opened in his presence, the bowels were taken out and buried on the spot. Orders of march were issued, and the corpse was carried, dressed as if alive, upon an elephant, a report being given out that Meeraun was indisposed; but his death was soon spread abroad, and the carrying of his corpse in this manner was regarded as an exposure of it, in revenge for the disgrace offered to the body of Serauje ad Dowlah. Colonel Calliaud when arrived near Butteah prepared a hearse, and sent off the corpse to the Ganges, where it was embarked in a boat, and carried down to Rajemahal for interment. The army then returned to Patna, under the direction of Rajebul-lub, Meeraun's dewan, where it remained during the rainy season; the emperor still continuing in the vicinity of Teekaury, and raising contributions in the districts for his support. About this time, some changes took place among the English. Colonel Clive had returned to Europe, leaving Mr. Holwell in the government till the arrival of Mr. Henry Vansittart, who was appointed to succeed him, from Madras. Mr. Amyatt, having received some flight, repaired to Calcutta, where colonel Calliaud was also ordered, and the command of the English army at Patna devolved upon major Carnac.

The navob Meer Jaffier having, through grief for the death of his son, lost what understanding he possessed, the public affairs became neglected, and confusion pervaded every department. The navob, from necessity, increased the consequence
of

of his son in law Meer Caufim Khan, to whom he had a great aversion, and sent him to negotiate some business at Calcutta; where, during his agency, he impressed the minds of the council of his superiority of ability for government over Meer Jaffier or his son; and, indeed, he was eminently distinguished among his coteremporaries and family for penetration and conduct. Having finished his embassy, he returned to the navob, who, pleased at his success, shewed him more kindness than formerly, and he became of much influence at court.

At this time the troops, being greatly in arrears, surrounded the palace in a mutinous manner, demanding payment; and Meer Caufim had the address to quell them, by offering himself as security for the redress of their grievances. Soon after this it became necessary for him to repair again to Calcutta. Meer Jaffier was unwilling at first to permit him; but fate would not allow him to prevent him.

Mr. Vansittart was by this time arrived. To him Meer Caufim related the neglect of the navob in the affairs of his government, the disordered state of the revenues and army, and the expenses of the household, owing to the influence of a few mean people without ability, as Cheeny Laal, Munny Laal, and Aknoon Sing Halkarrah, over every department. Mr. Vansittart, who was unequalled among the English for his judgment and abilities in state affairs, perceived that Meer Caufim Khan was among all the relations and servants of the navob most distinguished in understanding, and he wished to form some plan for the regulation of the declining provinces. It occurred to him, that Meer Caufim Khan should be entrusted with the administration of the government, as the deputy of his father in law the navob, to whom he should regularly pay a sum adequate to the proper support of his dignity. He laid his plan before

before the council for their advice and approbation, and the majority assented to its execution; but Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Batson, and major Carnac, disapproved the measure. Though the inability of Meer Jaffier was not so problematical as not to be perceived by them, especially Mr. Amyatt; yet, as he wished his own party to prevail over Mr. Vansittart, he opposed his plans, according to the maxim, "It is impossible to love Alee, and not hate Maweeah." The two parties accused each other, in their letters to Europe, of every mismanagement; and their mutual enmity caused the ruin of numbers, as I shall hereafter relate. The governor's party being the strongest, his measures took place. Meer Caufim was congratulated on his success, and returned to Moorshudabad; where it was agreed that Mr. Vansittart should repair to execute his plan. This he did very speedily, accompanied by Mr. Hastings and some other gentlemen, with a detachment of the army.

Upon the governor's arrival at Moradbaug, a garden house opposite the city, on the bank of the river Baugruttee, Meer Jaffier the next morning came to visit him, and was informed of the plan agreed upon by the council, which he strenuously refused to accede to, though Mr. Vansittart used every argument to convince him that no hurt was intended to his dignity, but that he only meant, by appointing Meer Caufim his deputy, to ease him of a load of cares, which his infirm state of health rendered him incapable of bearing, and to rescue his honour and safety from the dangers they sustained by the ill behaviour of ignorant and self-interested ministers. After some time, the navob took leave, and returned to his palace. On the way back, he met Meer Caufim, who was coming to Moradbaug,

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* The family of Alee, son in law of Mahummud, was destroyed by the caliph Maweeah, who is held in abhorrence by the sect of the former on that account.

and commanded him to return; but he pretended not to hear, and proceeded.

When Meer Caufim heard what had passed, from the governor, he expressed his fears that the navob's having been informed of his plan, without being obliged to its execution, would prove hazardous to his safety. Mr. Vansittart expressed uncertainty how to act; upon which Meer Caufim was still more alarmed, saying, "If you are at a loss, what must I be, who am without any other support?" It being now dinner time, the governor retired to table, and Meer Caufim to a separate apartment. Here he consulted with Ali Ibrahim Khan, who advised him to wait patiently for another conversation with the governor, and to see how he would act: that if he gave up the plan, he could retire with his permission into Beerboom and join the emperor, who would gladly receive him. Meer Caufim resolved on this step, as a last resource to secure himself from the jealousy of the navob, should the English give up their design, and with much policy, for he would have been joined by many persons of rank, and the troops, for whose arrears he had stood security, were attached to him; which would have enabled him to have assumed independance. Dinner being concluded, Mr. Vansittart renewed the conversation, and it was at length determined, that Meer Jaffier should be forced to accede to his measures; for which purpose he would accompany Meer Caufim to the palace the next morning.

In the morning, Mr. Vansittart, attended by the English detachment, went to the palace, and was met by Meer Caufim and his friends. Repeated assurances were sent to the navob, that no injury was intended to his person or dignity. Mr. Vansittart endeavoured to persuade him that the appointment of
a deputy

* A woody district in Bengal.

a deputy in so near a relation, would reinstate his affairs from the confusion in which they were involved by the mismanagement and rapacity of his present favourites, but in vain. Some time passed in sending and receiving messages, when the English, finding that the nabob would not consent to their request, desired Meer Causim to assume the musnud in his own name, which he did without opposition; the friends of Meer Jaffier, who remained in the haram, having mostly deserted him, through fear of the English. Meer Jaffier had the offer of residing at the capital, or Calcutta. He chose the latter, and embarked in boats with his family, carrying with him unmolested the treasures in the haram, the jewels and valuable effects, which had accumulated to an inestimable amount, during the governments of the four last nabobs of Bengal. At Calcutta he built a palace for his residence, and had a monthly allowance adequate to his dignity.

A. H. 1174.
A. D. 1760.

D d d 2

MEER

MEER CAUSIM KHAN.

MEER Causim Khan, on his accession to the musnud, finding the treasury low, was distressed to pay off the arrears due to the troops, for which he had given security, and the debts of the English; on which account he hastened to reform the revenues of the several districts. He gave Burdwan in mortgage to the English, and pledged to them some of his jewels. After mustering the army, and detecting the impositions of several officers, he satisfied the troops, by paying them partly in money, and partly by orders on the collections. He settled the disbursements of his household, so as not to exceed his revenue, and reformed several useless departments, hitherto kept up for shew. He obliged Cheeny Laal and Munny Laal to refund considerable sums, which they had embezzled under the late government. Meer Causim, being well acquainted with the circumstances of the relations and dependants of the three late navobs, now exacted money from all whom he knew to be rich, and even obliged several courtezans to refund sums and valuable effects which they had received from Meer Jaffier and his son Meeraun; nor did he spare the women and eunuchs of Mahabut Jung, who had retired from the court and its affairs. In short, the advice of Saadee the poet, "Why collectest thou not from every subject a grain of silver, that thou mayest form a treasure?" He had attentively listened to, and now strictly followed, Raja Suknut Sing, who had held great offices under Mahabut Jung, voluntarily delivered

livered up all his wealth to Meer Caufim, who gave him up a part, and ever treated him with particular regard and attention, allowing him to fit close to his Musnud in public. Having thus collected a great treasure, he satisfied the army, and disbanded such of the troops as he could not trust, levying others in their room; after which he prepared to reduce the power of the refractory zemindars. In fact, this description of men are in general faithless, and ready upon the smallest commotion to forget the indulgence of their governors; on which account former emperors never relied upon them, but always managed the pergunnahs by their own officers. On this account, in their days, the provinces were flourishing, and men of all ranks satisfied and secure; but since the zemindars have been left uncontrouled in the government of their districts, confusion has prevailed, and the country is decaying. Meer Caufim having marched from Moorshudabad against Affud Zummaun Khan, raja of Beerboom, who had refused to pay an additional demand of revenue, easily defeated him with the assistance of the English.

It is now necessary, for the sake of regularity, that I should return to the affairs of Patna and the occurrences in that province, since the death of Meeraun.

At the conclusion of the rains, major Carnac with the English army, accompanied by Ramnarain, Raujeboollub, and the forces of Meeraun, marched to Gyah Maunpore against the emperor and Kaumgar Khan, who were defeated, and Mr. Law was taken prisoner. Major Carnac after the victory sent Raja Shittabroy with proposals of peace, and an offer to visit the emperor, who at first declined them, by advice of Kaumgar Khan, but on the remonstrances of my father, he sent again for the raja, and consented to an interview with the English. Upon this, Kaumgar Khan retired to his own country. Shaw Aulum having

having moved nearer the English camp, appointed the next day to receive the major; who came agreeably to his promise, and after the customary ceremonies, conducted his majesty to Gyah, from whence, in a few days, he attended the imperial standard to Patna.

Meer Caufim, upon intelligence of this event, hastened from Beerboom to Patna, much alarmed at the connection of the English with the emperor, especially as major Carnac was of Mr. Amyatt's party, which had opposed Mr. Vanfittart in his accession to the soubahdary. He refused to visit his Majesty in his camp, either from fear of treachery, or pride, but, after much negotiation, consented to pay his respects to him at the English factory; which was accordingly adorned for the occasion, and a throne placed upon the dining tables, which were covered with a rich musnud. Shaw Aulum came to the factory on the day appointed, and Meer Caufim being introduced, made the customary offerings, and was presented with a khelaut and other marks of favour, when he agreed to pay the emperor * twenty four lacs of rupees annually from the revenues of the three provinces. After the interview, the emperor took up his residence in the citadel, and the navob returned to his own camp; but being jealous of my father's attendance on his majesty, he prevailed on the English to procure the royal order for his return to his jaghire, which they did, though against their inclinations, to quiet his suspicions.

Shaw Aulum, after some stay at Patna, having received invitations from his vizier Shujah ad Dowlah and other chiefs, marched from that city to join him, greatly to the satisfaction of the navob, who feared that the attachment of the English to himself might be weakened by their regard for the royal cause.

Meer

* Two hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Meer Caufim had long wished to demand of Ramnarain an account of the disbursements and receipts of his government, which had never been given in, since the death of Serauje ad Dowlah; and the navob, who was intimately acquainted with business, well knew that the deputy had converted great sums to his own use. The protection afforded Ramnarain by the English, alone prevented him from proceeding to extremities; and the raja, depending upon their support, payed no attention to the just demands of the navob. Mr. Macguire, the chief of Patna, was of Mr. Vansittart's party, and supported Meer Caufim; but major Carnac and Mr. Hay opposed his demands upon the raja. In this state of affairs, the navob, knowing my intimacy with Mr. Amyatt, sent me to Calcutta, that I might endeavour to make that gentleman his friend, and to consent to Ramnarain's being left at his discretion. Soon after this, colonel Coote was appointed to the army at Patna, and Ramnarain, thinking it his interest to excite jealousies in the minds of the English against the navob, bribed the colonel's spies to convey him false intelligence, which he too eagerly believed. These men carried their impositions so far, as to assure the colonel that Meer Caufim had fixed a day for attacking him by surprize; upon which the colonel, early on the morning mentioned, went with some armed men to the navob's camp; but finding no signs of preparation, and the navob asleep, he was vexed at his credulity, and returned without seeing Meer Caufim; to whom he excused himself by a message, that he had come with intention to visit him, but hearing he was asleep, would not disturb his repose. The navob complained to the council of this behaviour, which he attributed to its just cause, the intrigues of Ramnarain, of which they were now convinced. Colonel Coote was recalled, and orders sent to the gentlemen at Patna, that they should not interfere between the navob and his deputy.

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This event rendering my farther stay at Calcutta needless, I returned to Patna; and indeed it was in vain that I endeavoured to draw Mr. Amyatt over to friendship for the navob. He one day said to me, " You well know, that I have no regard
" for Ramnarain, but, on the contrary, dislike him; yet, as I
" have from the beginning taken an opposite party to the go-
" vernor, and our disputes are referred to England, I cannot
" befriend Meer Causim without contradicting my own asser-
" tions. If a decision shall arrive in favour of the governor's
" party, he will not seek my help; but if my opinions are ap-
" proved, and the government committed to my charge, should
" the navob offer me his friendship, I shall have no objection
" to return it." Upon this, I wrote freely to Meer Causim the determinations of Mr. Amyatt and his friends.

The navob, upon permission from the council, demanded Ramnarain to give in his accounts, which he did. In them the raja had put down large sums paid to jaghiredars; but the navob required the receipts of the persons said to have received them, as vouchers for the payment; also muster rolls of the troops, and the books of the several payoffices of each corps, as proof of the exactness of the disbursements; for which purpose he ordered the servants of the raja in each department to attend with their papers. Ramnarain, conscious of his mismanagement and embezzlements of the collections, was alarmed, and at a loss how to act, being no longer supported in his contumacy by the English. Some of his friends advised him to resist the navob by force; but, as he was void of personal courage, he saw no remedy but submission, having first prevailed on some of the heads of offices to fly with their accounts, in hopes by that means to confuse the navob's auditors, and cover his own defalcation. Meer Causim, upon this, put a guard over his house, to prevent his escape, and having de-
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tected embezzlements of large sums from the revenues, the jaghires, and pay of the troops, confiscated his effects. About ^aseven lacs of rupees in money and goods were found in his house, and nearly the same sum was recovered from persons to whom it had been entrusted by himself and his women. The effects of Gongabishen, his treasurer, and Munfaram his banker, were also seized, under pretence of having concealed his treasures. A large sum was also collected from Moorlydher and the cutwal of the city, who had been partners in guilt with the raja; nor was a single person of his dependants exempt from fines or confiscation; so that the navob acquired a great treasure.

Meer Caufim having settled these affairs to his satisfaction, entered the fort of Patna with much pomp, as a proof to the inhabitants of his possessing full authority in his government, which in fact he did not, till the submission of Ramnarain. He kept him in confinement in the city, but sent Moorlydher prisoner to Dacca, and Ameer Roy, the royroyan, with several other persons, to Moorshudabad. Having obtained from the emperor the dewanny of the province, the government of Rhotas Ghur, and the jaghires of ^bEatimad ad Dowlah, which had been under the direction of Raja Shittabroy, he demanded of him an account of his conduct; but he refused to submit, and with some faithful followers resolved to defend his house against the troops of the navob; but the English, who owed great obligations to Shittabroy for his assistance in the battle with Khadim Houssein Khan, prevailed with Meer Caufim to submit his claims upon him to the decision of the council, which he did, depending on the governor's support of his cause. Shittabroy accordingly accompanied major Carnac to Calcutta; but

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as

^a Seventy thousand pounds.

^b Vizier to Mahummud Shaw.

as, on enquiry, no fault could be proved upon him, the governor and council granted him an escort to conduct him in safety out of the provinces subject to Meer Caufim, into the territories of the navob of Oude, where he chose to retire.

Meer Caufim, since his accession, had paid great attention to the forming his army, which he greatly strengthened by the addition of a regular artillery and several battalions of sepoy, clothed and disciplined like the English; also a body of regular cavalry. These were commanded by Gregory, an Armenian, who was distinguished by the title of Goorgeen Khan, and was the chief confidant and adviser of the navob. With this force he resolved to reduce the power of the Bahar zemindars, who had hitherto been too independant on government. He commanded them all to attend his person. Kaumgar Khan, dreading punishment for his support of the emperor, sheltered himself in the mountainous parts of his country, and refused to obey the summons. Boonniaud Sing and Futteh Sing of Teekaury, relying on their fidelity during the last invasion of Shaw Aulum for protection, came in, but were immediately ordered into confinement. Pulwaun Sing and other zemindars of Bhojepore refused submission; upon which the navob prepared to march in person against them, and detached a considerable force under his nephew Abou Ali Khan to reduce Kaumgar Khan.

Upon the approach of the navob, the zemindars of Bhojepore evacuated their districts, and fled across the Ganges into the dominions of Shujah ad Dowlah; and Meer Caufim, having appointed confidential officers for the protection of the country, encamped for some time at Saffaram, after which he returned to Patna, and from thence to Monghyr, which fortress he had ordered to be repaired, intending to make it his principal residence. During his stay at Saffaram, several persons were

were put to death, and others confined on suspicion of treachery, which occasioned the English to remonstrate upon his cruelty; but as, by the articles of the treaty with him, they could not interfere in the government of the provinces, he little regarded it, thinking it sufficient to inform them, that he had reasons for his conduct.

As it is incumbent on the recorder of events and actions of men to speak the truth, I shall now mention some of his good deeds, as I have already done the evil. Though Meer Causim from experience was very suspicious of the fidelity of the troops of Bengal, and the attachment of the great to their patrons, and therefore, for slight offences, punished with confiscation and death; yet, in judicial proceedings, in criminal and civil affairs, and disputes between man and man, in regular payment of his army and household, in attention to the learned, in a liberal œconomy and well-judged bounty to all, he was the mirror of his age. Two days in the week, after the usage of former times, he held a court of justice; at which he revised the sentences of the inferior courts, and examined himself the plaintiff and defendant, with their witnesses; so that it was not possible for any officer of justice to change wrong into right for a bribe. He also protected the owners of small villages and farms from the rapacity of the great zemindars, who in the time of Ramnarain in Bahar had usurped the rights of the poorer landholders. He coined the costly decorations of the * Imaum Bareh, prepared by Serauje ad Dowlah at the expenses of some lacs, into money, and distributed it to the poor and pilgrims to the holy sepulchres, with an additional sum from his own purse. His neglect of the claims of his dependants I never heard one person complain of; but it is cer-

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* The place in which the celebration of the annual mourning for the Imaums, or family of Alee, is celebrated.

tain also, such was their dread of his severity, that no one slept with security in his service. As Meer Caufim wished to be upon an equality in rank with the vizier Shujah ad Dowlah, he procured from the emperor the rank of eight thousand and title of ^a Ali Jah; from which time he was never mentioned but by that appellation.

Some disputes having arisen between the agents of the English and the navob, concerning duties on merchandize demanded by the latter, Mr. Vansittart paid a visit to Meer Caufim on his way to Patna, with a view to adjust them by amicable discussion, and settle a plan for future collection, that might be agreeable to both parties. The navob came to meet him about six miles from Monghyr, where he entertained him for some days with great splendour, and a review of his troops disciplined in the European manner. The governor took this occasion to give him some friendly advice. He observed, that he certainly had a fine army, but for his sake hoped it never would be opposed to an English one, against which it could not stand; that at present the honour and welfare of Hindoostan rested with him, and nothing but his breaking with the English could disturb them. He advised him to combat his countrymen only with the pen, when he would be sure of victory, and to follow the rules which he had laid down for Europeans and natives in their conduct to each other.

At this interview Meer Caufim complained, that much merchandize passed the custom houses free of duty, under the name of English trade, belonging to other persons, by which his revenues suffered great loss; therefore he hoped that all goods, but those of the company, should be made liable to the customary duties. The governor observed, that it would be difficult

^a Exalted in dignity.

cult to annul a privilege which had been for some time usual, but that he would, on his return to Calcutta, endeavour to rectify the abuse; and advised him, till he should hear from him on the subject, to permit matters to remain as they were. Meer Caufim, presuming on this promise, resolved to collect the customs, and wrote to his officers, that as he expected shortly permission for the purpose, they should contrive to stop by one pretence or other, all goods till its arrival. The officers, eager to obey, but not possessing sufficient caution, began immediately to enforce their orders and demand duties with great rigour; upon which the English chiefs of Patna, Dacca, and other places, whose agents they had ill treated, took the officers of the customs prisoners, and complained to their government, from whom they had yet received no intimation of the abolition of the privilege of trade, which had not yet been agitated in council.

The navob was at this time on his return from an unsuccessful expedition against Neipal, a country to the north east of Bengal, said to abound in gold, which he was eager to possess. The intelligence of the boldness of the English, made him return to Monghyr with greater expedition. He passed Patna without visiting, as usual, the English chief, and issued orders for seizing their native agents in the several districts, and sending them to his court. At the same time, he dispatched an envoy to the emperor and Shujah ad Dowlah to secure their assistance, in case he should find it adviseable to break with the English.

By this precipitate conduct of the navob, Mr. Vansittart was prevented from procuring the assent of his council to the plan he had intended, and obliged, by a majority of votes, to demand satisfaction for the confinement of the agents, and an exemption from duties in future. The navob upon this issued orders to excuse the merchandize belonging to persons of every description

description from duty, declaring to the council, that as the richer traders passed their goods under the English name to evade the customs, he must, to avoid the oppression of the poor, wholly annihilate the collection. With regard to the release of the agents, he wrote, that when his should be liberated from Calcutta, and arrive at Monghyr, he would set theirs free.

This determination offended the prevailing party in council; who said it was intended to affront them, by putting them on a footing with common merchants; that if he meant to live in amity with the English, he must excuse their trade, as formerly, and collect from others; to attain which objects, they would send two of their body to the navob as ambassadors. Mr. Vansittart, being in a minority, was obliged to execute the resolution of council, and Messieurs Amyatt and Hay were sent to Monghyr; but he wrote privately to Meer Caufim, entreating him for his own sake to comply for the present with their demands, however disagreeable it might be to him, as a little time would bring orders from Europe, that would satisfy his utmost wishes; but if by his rashness he should provoke a war, it would be out of his power to heal the breach. The navob shewed this letter to Goorgeen Khan, and asked his advice how to act, thinking, that as he had lived among the English and had a * brother settled at Calcutta, he was well informed of their genius and customs. This man, inconsiderate, and conceited of his own abilities, recommended a disregard to the governor's advice, saying, that the present was a struggle for superiority between the navob and the English, and if he gave up, he would daily become more degraded, but that if he now acted with resolution, they would be obliged to submit. Meer Caufim was overcome by his argument, and determined to follow his advice. Apprehending that the banker Juggutt Seet, in case of a war, might

* Petruse, an eminent Armenian merchant.

might assist the English, as he had before done in the deposition of Serauje ad Dowlah and on his own accession to the musnud, he sent for him and his brother to Monghyr, where he commanded them to settle, and placed spies to observe their conduct.

These two persons were grandsons to Juggutt Seet Futteh Chund, the principal merchant and banker of Hindoostan, and inherited his immense wealth. They could pay a bill of exchange at sight for a ^a corore of rupees. When, during the first invasion of the Mharattas in the time of Mahabut Jung, their warehouses were plundered of two corores, the loss was considered by them as trifling. Even at this time, when, since the power of the English their business has decreased, every one of their descendants is in a state of opulence and high credit.^b

When Meer Caufim heard of the ambassadors' arrival at Moorshudabad, he sent Abdoolla Suffevee and me to meet him; observing, that as we were intimate acquaintance of Mr. Amyatt's, he would speak before us without reserve, so as to enable us to inform him of the true object of the mission. He sent with us twenty runners, a writer, and two head spies, who were to attend us, disguised as servants, whenever we should visit the English gentlemen, or they us, with orders to communicate daily to the writer what at such times they might hear or see; the particulars of which were to be conveyed to the nearest post, and forwarded by express for his information. Under such circumstances we proceeded, and met Mr. Amyatt at Gunga Per-
fand;

^a A million sterling.

^b In the native administrations, this house was security for the renters of revenue; and thus the collections in general passed through their hands. Of late years, the Seets have lessened their concerns. Their house was plundered of a vast sum by Meer Caufim, when he began his war with the English, but is yet very wealthy and respectable.

faud; but during our embrace at the first interview, contrived to hint to him that we were accompanied by spies, which prevented him from talking too freely. We had several conversations in our way to Monghyr, all of which were conveyed to the navob, by ourselves and the spies; but one day, to obviate his suspicions of our reserve, I said to Mr. Amyatt, "What are the true objects of your embassy? we are well wishers to both parties, and if you would communicate your sentiments freely, we will declare what we think for the benefit of both." Mr. Amyatt, with a loud voice, replied, "You, natives, speak before us what you think will please us, and in presence of the navob, what will please him, so that neither can learn the truth; therefore I am come as ambassador, that he may know our real sentiments and we his, without intervention, and I have no occasion for your confidence or advice." We wrote the above to the navob, as did the spies also; and we often repeated our request to the English gentlemen, that he might not suspect us to be neglectful of his commands. At length, on our arrival at Bhaugulpore, we received an order, setting forth, that as the English gentlemen would not open their minds to us, our stay with them was unnecessary. Upon this we took leave, and hastened before them to Monghyr. When we arrived, the navob asked us several questions, and then dismissed us; but in a few hours after sent for me again. When I reached the palace, Goorgeen Khan was sitting with him, to whom the navob was relating what I had said. I sat down at a distance with Ali Ibrahim Khan. At length the navob called me to him, desiring that I would repeat what I had heard from the English, to Goorgeen Khan. I did so; and the navob shewing signs of anger and unbelief, Goorgeen Khan observed, that if the breast of an Englishman was to be cut open with a dagger, it would be impossible to discover the sentiments of his heart: then turning to me, he continued his questions. I had
not

not said much, when he impatiently exclaimed, "Why are you
 " so tedious? I will ask you only your opinion on four points.
 " What are the causes of Mr. Amyatt's coming? Does he in-
 " tend treachery to the navob? Is he come as a spy, to learn
 " the state of the fort and army? Is he come with friendly or
 " inimical designs?" I was much distressed, but replied, "I am
 " astonished at your questions, after declaring that it is impossi-
 " ble to discover the sentiments of an Englishman, even if you
 " cut his breast open with a dagger. How should I learn Mr.
 " Amyatt's thoughts? As for treachery, he is without troops,
 " and therefore has more cause to apprehend it, than form de-
 " signs of practising it on others. With respect to being a spy,
 " every one who enters the fort must make observations, so
 " that he has no cause to come himself for information. As
 " to his intentions, they are these, to learn the sentiments of
 " the navob from himself to the English. If they are friendly,
 " he will be so too; but if not, a rupture will certainly ensue
 " between his government and ours." The navob approved what
 I had said, and dismissed me; but Georgeen Khan was much
 displeased.

Three days after the above conversation Mr. Amyatt arrived
 at Monghyr, and was visited by the navob. The next day Mr.
 Amyatt returned the visit, accompanied by Mr. Hay, captain
 Johnson, and Mr. Gulston, an amiable young man, who spoke
 the Persian fluently, and two or three other gentlemen. Those
 were merely visits of ceremony; several others passed, in which
 there were warm arguments and upbraidings on the part of the
 navob and the ambassadors. At one, Mr. Amyatt being treated
 disrespectfully by the attendants at the palace gate, complained
 of the insult; which the navob attributed to the ignorance of
 his servants: but Mr. Amyatt knew they dared not act info-
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lently without the pleasure of their master, and bore the affront in his mind, though, from politeness he accepted the excuses.

Another day, Mr. Gulston and captain Johnson, agreeably to the custom of the English, taking a ride into the country, were stopped by some horsemen and *peons, who threatened to fire upon them if they proceeded. They complained to the navob, who pleaded ignorance of the misbehaviour of his people. Such occurrences as these threw daily impediments in the way of friendship. The navob consulted with Ali Ibrahim Khan and other principal servants, who advised amity and forbearance to the English; which he would often determine upon, but as often altered his opinion, from the incendiary councils of Goorgeen Khan. At length, Ali Ibrahim Khan freely told him, "That if he chose not to follow his advice, he wished to be excused from his councils; but that whether he meant war or peace with the English, it was unbecoming his own dignity and the usage of states, to affront their ambassadors, whom he ought rather to distinguish more kindly than ever." Meer Caufim was alarmed, and altered his behaviour; upon which Goorgeen Khan left off attending the durbar.

At this time, some English boats laden with goods and five hundred musquets on the way to Patna, were stopped by Goorgeen Khan; upon which Mr. Amyatt remonstrated to the navob, but in vain. Ali Ibrahim Khan represented, that the navob was wrong in restraining them, for, if the English wished for war, the addition of five hundred musquets was of little consequence. Upon this the navob asked, if he would declare this opinion before Goorgeen Khan. He answered, Certainly. Meer Caufim then sent him to him, with Raja Nobut Roy, to ask his opinion; but the Armenian insolently exclaimed, "I am a soldier," and

* Foot soldiers.

“ and have no business to advise; let the navob consult with his ministers, and call for me only in the day of battle.” Raja Nobut Roy being intimidated, was silent; but Ali Ibrahim Khan replied, “ The navob asks the advice of his general, and it is plain he has ever acted from it. Why then do you not give your opinion what you think will be for his interest.” Georgeen Khan, placing his hands expanded together, said, “ The navob and the English are like these, equal.” Then, folding the fingers of one hand, he exclaimed, “ If the navob resolutely opposes Mr. Amyatt, he will be like this hand, over the other; but if he submits to his demand, the contrary, crushed and overpowered. He is the master, let him act as he chuses.” Ali Ibrahim Khan communicated this to the navob without reserve. All thoughts of conciliation were laid aside, and he prepared for war. Mr. Amyatt, seeing his stay was useless, demanded his dismissal; which at first was refused, but, after much argument, the navob permitted him and the other gentlemen to depart, keeping Mr. Hay as an hostage for his agents in confinement at Calcutta, till they should be discharged.

Mr. Amyatt on his departure from Monghyr wrote to Mr. Ellis, the chief of Patna, to be upon his guard, as the disagreement with the navob, must shortly break out into an open rupture. Mr. Ellis, who regarded a declaration of war as certain when Mr. Amyatt should reach Calcutta, having allowed as many days as he thought would carry him out of danger from the navob's troops, resolved to possess himself of the city of Patna by surprize. Accordingly, near day break in the morning of Friday, the twelfth of Zeekaud, 1176, captain Carstairs, with a detachment of Europeans and sepoy, scaled the walls with little opposition, the guards being mostly off their posts, not suspecting an attack. He then formed his troops into two divisions, and marched firing towards the citadel, each division by a se-

A. D. 1763.

parate street. Meer Mhadee Khan, the soubahdar, being informed of the attack, collected as many of his garrison as he could, and opposed the enemy; but, after a short struggle, fled by way of the eastern gate, with his followers, out of the city towards Monghyr. An officer named Mahummud Ameen Khan, retired into the palace of Chehul Settoon, resolved to defend it; and Laal Sing, the commander of the garrison in the citadel, shut the gates, and fired from the walls. Except these two places, the whole city was now in the possession of the English, whose troops, contrary to their usual custom, separated and began to plunder the houses of the inhabitants. Meer Mhadee Khan on his arrival at Futwah, about six miles from the city, met a detachment which had been sent to reinforce him from Monghyr, and hearing also of the resistance in the palace and citadel, he resolved to attempt recovering the city from the English, and marched along the banks of the Ganges towards the eastern gate. The English on his approach drew up under the walls, with two pieces of cannon in their front, upon the bridge over the ditch; but were obliged to relinquish their post by a severe discharge of rockets; and having spiked the cannon, they retired towards their factory, and were pursued by the enemy. The remainder of the English in the city, being alarmed, followed the example of their companions, and having gained the factory, shut the gates. This being surrounded by the enemy, about midnight they retreated to their cantonments at Baukipore, and from thence in boats up the river to Chopperah, and towards the frontiers of Shujah ad Dowlah; but being attacked by the fojedaur of Sirkaur Saran, were obliged to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, when they were sent in confinement to Monghyr.

The navob Meer Caufim, upon intelligence of this success of his arms, issued immediate orders to the officers of the several districts

districts to slaughter every Englishman in them. Mr. Amyatt, unfortunately for him, was at Moorshudabad at this time. It was in vain that he desired to be sent prisoner to the navob. A Jemmautdaur, named Shawfowaur Beg, put him to death with his companions, and sent their heads to Meer Caufim. The English factory at Caufimbazar was plundered the same day.

When intelligence of this event reached Calcutta, Mr. Vansittart wrote to Syed Mahummud Khan, governor of Moorshudabad, threatening him for his cruelty; observing that the murder of ambassadors was against the law of nations, for which he should suffer, if it had been done without the orders of the navob his master; but if Meer Caufim had commanded it, he should see what the Almighty had determined. A council was held, but Mr. Vansittart being much indisposed, and unable to attend, he deputed Mr. Hastings to deliver his sentiments to the members; but some dispute arising in the violence of debate between Mr. Batson and Mr. Hastings, the governor hearing of it, was alarmed for their safety, and, ill as he was, ordered himself to be carried to the council. Upon his desiring to know the pleasure of the members, the majority declared for war with Meer Caufim, and the restoration of Meer Jaffier to the musnud; which being determined upon, he was proclaimed at Calcutta, and preparations made for his march against the enemy. A.D. 1763.

Meer Caufim Khan, on the probability of a rupture with the English, had ordered Mahummud Tukkee Khan, fojedaur of Beerboom, to march with his troops in order to oppose the passage of an enemy over the * Bhaugruttee; and Syed Mahummud Khan, governor of Moorshudabad, was directed to assist him with what troops he could spare from the defence of the city. A reinforcement was also sent from Monghyr; but on its arrival

* The river near Moorshudabad.

arrival on the banks of the river, the chiefs in command refused to cross, though Mahummud Tukkee represented the necessity of their acting in conjunction.

At this time a small detachment of English sepoys was on its way to join the army at Calcutta. Hybut Oollah Khan, the commander of the Monghyr troops, resolved to intercept it; but the English defended themselves in a village during a whole day against his attacks; and being joined by a battalion from Burdwan during the night, they marched out in the morning to give him battle, in which they were successful, and pursued their route. The next day Mahummud Tukkee Khan attacked them. Success was for some time doubtful. He had two horses killed under him, and had mounted a third, when a ball lodging in his forehead, he expired, and his followers fled, yielding up the victory to the English. In this engagement, Hybut Oollah and the other chiefs from Monghyr stood at a distance, out of danger, and upon the defeat, fled towards the city. The English committed their wounded enemies to the care of their physicians, and remained two or three days on the field of battle, when they proceeded. Syed Mahummud Khan, upon intelligence of the defeat, without taking any measures for the defence of Moorshudabad, or even securing the effects of Meer Causim, fled from the city; upon which Mahummud Eeeruch Khan, the father in law of Serauje ad Dowlah, assuming the command in the name of Meer Jaffier, went to meet him. In a few days Meer Jaffier with the English army arrived at the capital, and proclaimed security to the inhabitants. After a short stay, he proceeded towards Monghyr, to engage the army of Meer Causim, which was advancing from that fortress.

Meer Causim Khan, upon intelligence of the defeat and death of Mahummud Tukkee Khan, was much alarmed. He
ordered

ordered the remnant of the beaten army to take post at Sootee, and reinforced them with six thousand horse under Affud Oollah Khan, fojedaur of Terhoot, the rocket men of Meer Nasir, and seven or eight battalions of sepoy, with sixteen pieces of cannon, commanded by Maulkar an Armenian, and Sumroo a German, in order to oppose the advance of the enemy. Sheer Ali Khan, fojedaur of Poorneah, with the troops of that district, also joined them.

On Tuesday, the seventh of Mohirrim, 1177, the English A.D. 1763. army reached Sootee, and an engagement took place, which ended in the success of the enemies of Meer Caufim, though they did not exceed more than three thousand men, Europeans and sepoy. The defeated army fled without halting till they reached the brook of Oodwah, on the banks of which Meer Caufim had thrown up strong entrenchments. Meer Caufim had, upon the former defeat, sent his women and treasures for security to the fort of Rhotas, and he now prepared to march in person to Oodwah from Monghyr. As he was naturally prone to shed blood, and this disposition was increased by the instigation of Georgeen Khan, in this season of alarm, he resolved on the slaughter of several persons, whom he had imprisoned on suspicion of their fidelity. The principal of these were, Raja Ramnarain, Raja Rajeeboolub, Meeraun's dewan, the Roy-royan, Ameer Ram, with his son, Raja Futteh Sing of Teekaury, and several other principal zemindars. All these he put to death; and it is said, the first was drowned with a bag of sand tied round his neck. The English captives were confined more strictly, and Georgeen Khan advised their death; but the nabob had a private reason in his own breast for as yet preserving their lives. His army, according to the wretched custom of Hindoostan in a season of distress, began to be disorderly; but he kept them from mutiny by gentleness, and
marched,

marched as far as the Nullah of Chinnanuggur, where he halted, and detached several bodies to join the troops at Oodwah. He would have sent Goorgeen Khan to command, but the Armenian evaded his wishes, by pretending that he had vowed to remain for the defence of his person, from which he could not separate.

At this time, Meerza Nujeef Khan, who had fled from the persecution of his relation Shujah ad Dowlah the vizier, came to offer his services, with his followers; which Meer Caufim gladly accepted, and sent him to join the troops at Oodwah. These, confiding in the strength of their situation, were immersed in sloth and pleasure, self-secure from the attack of an enemy, but too cowardly to offer battle. Meerza Nujeef Khan shortly after his arrival at the camp, willing to deserve the favour of Meer Caufim, having selected a band in whom he could confide, issued one night from the entrenchments, and fording a piece of water in the rear of the English camp, where Meer Jaffier's tents were pitched, attacked the enemy about daybreak. Meer Jaffier fled to his boats; but his allies coming speedily to his assistance, repulsed Nujeef Khan; who, however, frequently alarmed them by similar attacks. These occasioned the English to endeavour to explore the way by which he came upon them, but for some days in vain.

At length, a deserter from their camp, who had embraced the navob Meer Caufim's service, of which he had grown weary, and wished to return to his countrymen, having observed the route of Nujeef Khan, one night pursued it, and fording the lake, placed stakes to mark the passage. Reaching the camp of the English, he communicated the discovery he had made, and offered himself as guide to surprize the enemy, on condition that he should be pardoned his desertion, which was readily granted.

granted. Scaling ladders being prepared, on the night fixed for the attack, the grenadiers of the army, putting their cartouch boxes on their heads, began to ford the lake. It was agreed, that on their ascending the entrenchments a portfire should be lighted, as a signal to the camp, when an attack was also to be made on a bridge over the brook of Oodwah. The grenadiers, after a difficult march of near a mile up to the waist in water, gained the shore under the entrenchments. The guards, depending on the improbability of an enemy's crossing the lake, were asleep; and the English, mounting the walls by their ladders, entered the camp. At this time, a trumpeter awaking, discovered them, but was dispatched by a bayonet before he could sound an alarm. They lighted their portfire and rushed upon the sleeping guards. At the same instant, the English from the camp attacked the bridge, and made a heavy discharge of cannon and howitzers. The grenadiers commenced a dreadful firing within, with great slaughter. The enemy were too much confused to resist them, and every one tried only to effect his escape from between two fires, the English troops having now forced the bridge and entered on that side. Malkaur and Sumroo had fled with their battalions on the first alarm, and suffered little loss; but numbers of the other troops were killed by the fire of the English, and many drowned in crossing a brook in their flight. Affud Oollah Khan, deserted by his attendants, was obliged to run some distance on foot before he could procure a horse. Meerza Nujeef Khan with his followers fled into the hills. A great plunder fell into the hands of the victors, with little loss on their side.

A. H. 1177.
A. D. 1763.

The intelligence of this defeat plunged Meer Caufim into despair. He left his camp privately the night after, hastened to Monghyr, and was followed by his army the next day in great disorder. At Monghyr he remained a few days to secure his effects,

effects, and revive the exhausted spirits of the troops. At this time, Ali Ibrahim Khan advised him to release the English prisoners, and permit them to join their friends, as a means of softening their resentment; but, at all events, if he did not chuse to release the men, to send the women in boats with a message to major Adams. Meer Caufim advised with Goorgeen Khan, who refused his assent. Arab Ali Khan with two battalions of sepoy, being left to garrison Monghyr, the nabob moved towards Patna, carrying with him the English captives, who suffered great hardships from the want of proper accommodations. When he approached the ^aRowah Nullah, he halted, intending to make a stand; but this resolution was laid aside by the sudden death of Goorgeen Khan.

This man was universally hated by the troops for his severity and pride. He had introduced the English discipline, and wanted, like them, to keep up the same order and respect in time of distress as of good fortune, never considering that they possess qualities peculiar to themselves, which enable them to maintain such order over their servants at all times. He had the presumption to flatter himself, that an Armenian, always used to trade, could oblige strangers to submit to a discipline they had never been accustomed to.

To proceed: Meer Caufim halted a few coss from the Rowah. Goorgeen Khan, according to custom, remained to guard the rear of the army. He was sitting in a small tent, when some troopers came to demand their pay. He gave them abusive language, which they returned; and being enraged, he called for his attendants to carry them to the guard; but the troopers, drawing their sabres, cut him down, and made their escape. Confusion prevailed in the camp, and Malkaur fired
some

^a A rivulet in Bahar.

some shot at the murderers. The report of the cannon reached the navob, who, thinking the English had attacked Goorgeen Khan, was so alarmed, that he mounted his elephant and fled. The troops followed his example, and during the whole night were employed in crossing a bridge of boats thrown across the Rowah. Meer Caufim now advanced hastily to Patna.

On his way, he put to death the two bankers, Juggutt Seet and Raja Serroop Chund. On his arrival near the city, he halted for some days at the gardens of Jaffier Khan, and entrusted the defence of Patna to Mahummud Ameen Khan. Upon hearing that the enemy had taken Monghyr, in a fit of rage, he ordered Sumroo to put the English prisoners to death; who, notwithstanding his being of one of the sects of christians, complied with the order. He proceeded during the night to the house of Hajee Ahmud, brother to Mahabut Jung, where they were confined, and dispatched them, his sepoy firing into their apartments. It is said, they made what resistance they could, by throwing bottles and stones at their murderers. I have heard also, that a few days before, they had endeavoured to bribe their guards to give them arms, with a design of effecting their escape, or dying in the attempt. Doctor Fullarton was the only one who was spared, he having been of great service in his profession to several chiefs, and esteemed by Meer Caufim.

The morning after this massacre, of which I was ignorant, I happened to go to the durbar, and after some time was rising to take leave, when the navob desired me to stay, saying, that a friend of mine was coming; but immediately after ordered me to depart, and he would send for me when he came. I repaired to my tent, and in a short time was called by a messenger from Meer Caufim. Soon after my arrival, Doctor

Fullarton was brought to the durbar in an Indian dress, and according to the custom of our country, presented some rupees as an offering, which the navob refused, saying, "This has not been usual between us;" and embraced him, commanding him to sit near me, which he did. Meer Caufim, addressing him, said, "How can you justify treachery to friends? You received the English troops into your house, on pretence of indisposition, to surprize my people." The Doctor with much fortitude replied, "I fear not death; you have murdered my companions, and may kill me; but I am innocent of the charge of treachery, as you may find on enquiry from my neighbours, and one of them, Ukkedutmund Khan, is present." As this charge was without foundation, it was immediately disproved by the khan and others; upon which the navob spoke kindly, and told him he might go to Calcutta, or stay with him, as suited his inclination. The doctor prudently declined the former offer. Meer Caufim hoped, that through him Mr. Vansittart might be induced to grant him peace, and desired me to retire with him, and sound him on the subject. I did so; but the Doctor declared, that after the massacre of Mr. Amyatt and so many Englishmen, a reconciliation was impossible. Upon my communicating this, the navob called him to him, and questioned him himself; but receiving the same reply, desisted from urging him further on the business, saying, that "since he would not go to Calcutta, he might stay where he pleased." The doctor requested he would fix him a residence; and the navob ordered Ali Ibrahim Khan to give him a house in the city, but to put persons over him, to take care that he did not converse with his people: he also took the bail of Himmut Ali Khan for his security.

The English, having had Monghyr delivered up to them by the treachery of the governor, Arab Ali Khan, were advancing
fast

fast towards Patna; upon which Meer Caufim moved to Bikrum Serai, some distance from the city, stationing troops in different posts to keep up the communication with his camp. About this time, Dr. Fullarton having escaped with his bail's-man to the Dutch factory, crossed the river in a small boat, and joined some English troops who were on the opposite bank.

The English army, arriving at Patna, gained possession of that city with little trouble, the walls being in a ruinous state, and unable to stand against cannon. Meer Caufim now retreated towards the frontiers of Bahar, and sent for his women and treasures from the fort of Rhotas, intending to retire into the country of the vizier for protection. Meerza Nujeef Khan, who had experienced the treachery of Shujah ad Dowlah, advised him against putting himself into his power, offering if he would trust him with the command of his troops to tire out the English, by false attacks and cutting off their supplies from the country, while Meer Caufim might remain securely at Rhotas. The navob refused his offers, alleging, that the air of Rhotas was dangerously unhealthy; but it is probable he was fearful of giving him the command of the army. Nujeef Khan then proposed his returning into ^a Bondelcund, and calling the Mharattas to his assistance; but this he declined, from a dread of the rapacity of those marauders; and resolved to join the emperor and vizier. Intelligence now arrived that the English were rapidly advancing, and had sent a detachment over the river to oppose his retreat on that side; which so alarmed him, that he moved immediately to Saffaram, and the next day continued his march to the banks of the rivulet Dergautty. Here the troops became clamorous for payment of their arrears, and the camp was a scene of confusion. The next morning Nujeef Khan took his
leave

^a A territory west of the Jumna, belonging to a tribe of Raajepootes called Bondelas.

leave, not chusing to trust himself in the vizier's country, when the navob presented him with a lac and half of rupees, and five elephants. At this time, a treaty under the vizier's seal, promising by oath on the Koraun protection and assistance, arriving, Meer Causim crossed the *Carumnassa, and entered the district of Bulwund Sing, subject to Shujah ad Dowlah. He proceeded to Banaras, where he halted some days, and discharged a considerable part of his troops, keeping only his disciplined sepoy, artillery, and a selected body of cavalry. Meerza Nujeef Khan retired into Bondelcund, and entered into the service of the raja of that country.

The emperor and Shujah ad Dowlah being encamped at Aleabad, preparatory to an expedition into Bondelcund, Meer Causim marched to join them. Upon his arrival within a few coss of the camp, the vizier came in great pomp to meet him, and was received with equal magnificence, superb tents being pitched for his reception, and the troops ranged in two lines from them to a great distance. Meer Causim and his principal attendants in rich dresses met him at the entrance of his tent, when the two navobs embraced and sat down on the same musnud. After a short conversation and the usual ceremony of valuable presents of rich cloths, jewels and elephants on the part of Meer Causim, they mounted an elephant together, and repaired to visit the emperor. The day following, Meer Causim returned the vizier's visit, and was received with the highest honours, and encouraged by promises of his utmost efforts to recover Bengal from the hands of the English. A few days after, he presented to the vizier, jewels to the amount of some lacs of rupees, a chariot drawn by elephants sumptuously caparisoned with embroidered housings to his begum, and very valuable

* A river separating Bahar and Banaras, then belonging to Shujah ad Dowlah.

luable gifts to his mother, who had honoured Meer Caufim with the appellation of son.

Meer Caufim pressing Shujah ad Dowlah to lose no time in marching against the English, he pleaded that he was at present employed against the Bondelas, who had refused payment of their revenues; upon which Meer Caufim offered to reduce them with his battalions; and the vizier consenting, he crossed the Jumna, and laid siege successfully to one of their forts. The enemy, alarmed at this loss, and impressed with awe by the battalions of sepoy clothed after the European mode, their superior discipline, and the artillery, offered submission through Nujeef Khan; and Meer Caufim, having adjusted affairs to the satisfaction of the vizier, returned to his camp. It was now agreed to march against the English, and the allied armies moved to Banaras, to make preparations, Meer Caufim promising to pay the vizier ^a eleven lacs of rupees monthly, from the day he should cross the Ganges into the province of Bahar, till the conclusion of the war.

A bridge of boats being thrown across the Ganges, the allied armies began their march, in numbers not to be reckoned, covering the country far as the eye could reach; but, from the ignorance of the generals, and want of discipline, murdering and plundering each other. It was not an army, but rather, a moving nation. Some of his more discerning ministers represented to the vizier, that he should not trust to superiority of numbers against the English, or engage them in a general action, but rather select his best troops, and leave the rest, with his women and the superfluous followers of the camp, on his frontiers, when he would be sure of victory by harassing the enemy with continued alarms and cutting off supplies of provisions;
in

^a One hundred and ten thousand pounds.

in which case, they would by degrees be obliged to retreat. The vizier, vain of his power, listened not to advice, and thought meanly of the English; who on their parts, fatigued with the late campaign during a rainy season, and alarmed at the reports of the abilities of the vizier and the vastness of his army, had marched from Buxar, and were retreating towards Patna. The emperor, Shujah ad Dowlah, and Meer Caufim, having entered the province of Bahar, followed them, their disorderly troops spreading desolation for miles round their line of march; which so much disgusted the inhabitants, who before were anxious for the success of the vizier, that they changed their wishes into prayers for the success of the English, who had never molested them. The English having placed their heavy baggage and superfluous followers in Patna, returned as far as Arole to oppose the allies; but, finding themselves unable to keep the field, retreated again to the neighbourhood of that city, and threw up entrenchments to defend themselves, being closely pursued by the enemy; who, elated by this success, became still more confident of victory.

Shujah ad Dowlah, after halting one day at Phulwauree, about four English miles from Patna, marched the next morning to attack the enemy, who defended themselves gallantly against three several assaults; and on the approach of night, the vizier returned to his tents, having lost a great number of men by the enemy's fire. Meer Caufim greatly offended his ally by staying at a great distance with his battalions, and neglecting to move to his assistance when required. Nothing farther was attempted for some days, the vizier being indisposed, according to one report, from a wound he had received in the action, and by another, of a violent eruption of boils. On his recovery, he moved his camp to the south of the city, but did nothing, except now and then shewing himself under arms, major
Carnac,

A month elapsed in inactivity; and the rains approaching, the allies, not chusing to remain longer before Patna, retreated towards Buxar, where they continued, intending to return after the wet season. My father, who had come from his jaghire to pay his respects to the emperor, was in the camp; and I, being disgusted with Meer Caufim, had left his service and joined his majesty. Doctor Fullarton, with whom and several other Englishmen I was intimately acquainted, had frequently written to me to persuade the emperor to quit the vizier, and join them. I communicated this to my father, observing, that such a step would certainly prove for his majesty's welfare, as, from the irregularity of the allied army, the English must in the end be victorious. My father and Moneer ad Dowlah proposed it to the emperor; who, weary of the neglect and disrespect shewn him by Shujah ad Dowlah, wished to free himself from his hands, and join the English. His majesty accordingly wrote a letter with his own hand, testifying his wishes of accepting the services of the English, and desiring that they would regard as his sentiments only what was conveyed in his own hand writing, or through me by message. With this letter I departed for Patna, my father at the same time retiring to his jaghire. Upon

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my arrival, I found that a great coolness had taken place between major Carnac and Dr. Fullarton. I was however introduced to the former, in presence of the navob Meer Jaffier, and delivered the letter, which the major received with great respect, placing it, according to custom, on his head. Upon hearing the contents, he told me, "That as his majesty was not at present in a situation to act from himself, but dependant on the vizier, he could not obey his orders, or negotiate with him." An answer was given me; but as I saw my endeavours were vain, I sent it to the emperor by a courier, and returned home. The major having given the letter to his servant Sadooram, he dispatched a copy to Shittabroy, the deputy of Beny Bahadur, minister to the vizier.

During my stay at my father's jaghire, I heard of the vizier's confining Meer Caufim and confiscating his effects; the particulars of which, as given me afterwards by Ali Ibrahim Khan, I shall relate.

Meer Caufim had agreed to pay the vizier for his assistance eleven lacs of rupees monthly during the war; but, finding that it was likely to be of long continuance, he wished to be out of his power, in case his resources should fail him before the conclusion. With this view he made a request to the vizier, through Ali Ibrahim Khan, that he would permit him to march towards Moorshudabad and collect the revenues of the country, which he could readily effect, while the English had the vizier to employ their attention. Shujah, in reply, expressed fears that Meer Caufim might not return to him again, but said, he would detach another person to raise contributions in his name; which however he never did, and Meer Caufim received no supply from the provinces. A few days afterwards, the vizier demanded payment of his subsidy, and Meer Caufim pleaded

pleaded inability. Shujah ad Dowlah then pretended that the emperor was pressing for the Bengal tribute, and had resolved to send his officers to seize his effects. Upon this, Meer Caufim dispatched Ali Ibrahim Khan to beseech the protection of his ally from the royal demands; but the vizier replied, that he could not interfere, and he must settle his accounts with the emperor. Meer Caufim was covered with despair, and advised with Ali Ibrahim Khan; who recommended him to pay the demands of the vizier, if he had money; or if he had not, to go to him himself, and remind him of his promises of protection. Meer Caufim neglecting this, thought it safest to assume the habit of a devotee, thinking that the vizier would relent, not chusing to have it said of him, that he had reduced an ally to such a situation. The next morning, he with his friends assumed sacred habits, and, laying aside the musnud, seated himself on a bare mat. Intelligence of this proceeding being carried to Shujah ad Dowlah, he affected much concern, and repaired to Meer Caufim; whom, after much argument and assurances of friendship, he prevailed upon to change his habit, and reassume his usual state. A few days after this event, Sumroo the German, who commanded the disciplined battalions, surrounded the tents of Meer Caufim, clamorous for pay; and the navob having no rupees, was obliged to satisfy them with gold from his haram; after which he told Sumroo, that as it was not in his power to keep them longer, he must discharge them his service; but desired he would deliver the arms and accoutrements of the sepoy, with the cannon, to the officer of his arsenal. Sumroo insolently replied, that they now belonged to those who possessed them, and treacherously deserted with the battalions to the vizier, who received him into his service; and

H h h 2

being

* Doing this is regarded as a great reflection on a patron.

being now convinced that Meer Caufim had a secret treasure, resolved to seize it.

The following night, Monsieur Gentil, a Frenchman, formerly in the service of Meer Caufim, but now of the vizier, coming with five or six of his countrymen to the tents of Ali Ibrahim Khan, with whom he was intimately acquainted, informed him, that on the morrow Meer Caufim would be taken prisoner and his effects seized by the vizier, when there would be much confusion in the camp; on which account, lest any injury should happen to his friend, he had brought his countrymen to stay with him till the danger should be over. Ali Ibrahim Khan thanked him for his friendship, but declined accepting his offer, as it would have the appearance of his having deserted Meer Caufim, and put himself under the protection of the vizier.

About nine the next morning the vizier's army surrounded the tents of the navob; guards were placed over them, and Meer Caufim, being forced to mount an elephant, was carried prisoner to the camp of his ally. Mr. Gentil again offered his services to Ali Ibrahim Khan, but he again refused, determined to share the fate of his patron. In the evening he was called to the vizier's tent, and received with much attention by him, who asked him several questions concerning Meer Caufim, hoping, from his replies, to draw some apology for his own conduct towards him.

Shujah ad Dowlah first said, "What evil had I done to
" Ali Jah, that, on the day of my attacking the English at
" Patna, he ordered Sumroo to fire upon me, as I was re-
" turning to my tents in the evening?" Ali Ibrahim replied,
" I am ignorant of such an order; and woe be to the navob,
" if

" if he could thus treacherously act towards a friend, who had
" left his own government, and encountered such an enemy as
" the English, to restore him to his lost power and dignity."
The vizier being angry, said, " Do I speak falsely? I can
" call Sumroo to declare it in the presence of Ali Jah and
" yourself." He replied, " I do not contradict your highness;
" but at present my master is so reduced, that the testimony
" of his lowest menial may be brought against him, and Sum-
" roo is a man of power compared to him." Shujah ad Dow-
lah was ashamed, and began to soothe Ali Ibrahim, saying,
" I know your virtues, but Meer Caufim was ever suspicious
" of you, and often spoke against you privately." He replied,
" I am conscious of no crime against him, but that on his re-
" treat from Patna, when some persons advised him to fly to
" Dekkan and seek refuge with the Mharattas, I importunately
" besought him to apply to the emperor and your highness,
" thinking the throne and vizarut the only fit asylums for Meer
" Caufim." Shujah ad Dowlah to this made no reply; but,
after some compliments to the fidelity of Ali Ibrahim, retired
into his haram, leaving Beny Bahadur, his minister, and other
servants to put further questions to him. He was now desired,
as he must be entrusted with the secrets of Meer Caufim, to
inform in whose hands he had deposited his treasures, and to
deliver up forty thousand gold mhors, which Nuttoo Sing, Sum-
roo's spy, had said were committed to his charge. He desired
that Nuttoo Sing might be called in; which being complied
with, he observed before him, that the different offices, from the
water-house to the jewels, had been under the charge of Sum-
roo, who had also received a *lack of gold mhors in trust from
the nayob, of whose property he alone could give an account.
Nuttoo Sing denying this, Ali Ibrahim Khan observed to Beny
Bahadur, that since the affirmation, of one like himself in the
confidence

* One hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

confidence of Meer Caufim, were not believed, he might judge what degree of credit was due to the information of a wretched spy. Upon this, Beny Bahadur, convinced of his sincerity, informed the vizier of what had passed, and Ali Ibrahim Khan was permitted to retire without further molestation, and to keep possession of his effects. A strict exaction of the treasures of Meer Caufim was made by the vizier from his women, eunuchs, and servants, to a great amount; but a considerable number of valuable jewels, which he had sent away before the alarm, under charge of a faithful domestic, named Shekh Mahummud Ashuk, into the Rohilla country, were saved, and honestly delivered up to him again, when he escaped from the hands of Shujah ad Dowlah. It is probable, the women and eunuchs also might save something, notwithstanding the strictness of the search.

The vizier, being desirous of possessing the fort of Rhotas, which still held out for Meer Caufim, sent Meer Solymaun to negotiate with the kelladaar for its delivery. I had, before his arrival, received a letter from major Munro, through doctor Fullarton, expressing his desire that I would endeavour to bring over the kelladaar to Meer Jaffier's interest; and, accordingly, I represented to him the probability of the superiority of the English, and the advantages he would derive to himself and his family by securing their friendship. Raja Shawmul was a prudent man, and cautiously weighed the proposals of Meer Solymaun and myself; but at length he resolved to follow my advice; and giving me a paper with certain conditions for the acceptance of major Munro, I sent it to him, with a request that he would dispatch a force to garrison the fort, which would be delivered on his ratifying the raja's demands. The major complied, and captain Goddard arriving with a detachment, Rhotas was put into his possession; upon which Meer Solymaun returned to the vizier, and complained of my being the
the

the cause of his disappointment. Some disagreement occurring between captain Goddard and Shawmul, the latter desired that I would go with him to Patna, and obtain from major Munro the performance of his agreement; and I, being fearful of the resentment of the vizier, gladly accompanied him.

I must now return to the affairs of Meer Jaffier and the English, after the retreat of the allied army from the neighbourhood of Patna.

Meer Jaffier at the conclusion of the campaign, upon the retreat of the allies, repaired to Calcutta, having affairs of importance to settle with the council, and left the government of Patna and the direction of his army to his brother Meer Caufim Khan, appointing Deerauje Narain, brother to the late Raja Ramnarain, his deputy over the province of Bahar. This man was incapable of business, and had no other claim to favour than the murder of his brother by Meer Caufim. In the same manner, all who had enjoyed his favour, were now exposed to the resentment of Meer Jaffier, and obliged to remain in concealment, till his death enabled them to return to their habitations. Those who had been disliked by Meer Caufim were entrusted with the direction of affairs in every department. Meer Jaffier remained some time at Calcutta, endeavouring to prevail on the council to admit of Nundcomar's being his first minister; but Mr. Vansittart, knowing the navob's weakness and the bad qualities of his favourite would not consent, dreading the oppressions of the people, from Nundcomar's tyrannical disposition, which had been already experienced. The navob departed, much disappointed, to Moorshudabad without his confidant, whose return, however, soon after took place; and, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Mr. Vansittart, he was entrusted by Meer

* Afterwards executed for forgery.

Meer Jaffier with the sole direction of his affairs. By his advice, Mahummud Reza Khan, the governor of Dacca, was confined; but afterwards released on the interference of the English.

A.D. 1764. About this time, Meer Jaffier being taken ill, continued to decline, till at length, on Tuesday, the fourteenth of Shauban, 1178, he departed from this unstable world. He would willingly have concluded a peace with Shujah ad Dowlah, and given up the province of Bahar to him, with a tribute to the emperor for Bengal; to which conditions it is probable the English also would have assented on assurances of protection in their trade. But the vizier was too haughty to be satisfied with less than the conquest of the three provinces. Shujah ad Dowlah, however, with such high pretensions and so powerful an army, had not conduct to exert his force, though too proud to listen to the advice of his intelligent friends.

The English council, seeing that the vizier would not listen to any reasonable terms of accommodation, issued orders to major Munro, who had superseded major Carnac, to march against the enemy cantoned at Buxar. Accordingly, the major, having mustered his army, and provided ten days provisions, resolving in that space to conquer or die, began his march. The vizier, informed of his intention, detached a body of Mogul horse to harass his line, and withdrew some cannon which had been planted on the banks of the river Soan; but the main army remained in cantonments, strongly defended by entrenchments, which the vizier hoped would defend him from the enemy, till they should be obliged to retire for fresh supplies.

At length major Munro arrived within a short distance; and encamped on the border of a morass, which now divided the two armies, who remained in sight of each other inactive for
two

two days. On the third, the vizier altered his resolution, and resolved to attack the enemy, taking upon himself the command of the Mogul cavalry. Sumroo and Mr. Maddoc, with eight battalions of sepoys, and eight field pieces, formed the front line; to support which, Shujah Koollee Khan was stationed in their rear with his own followers, about seven thousand horse and foot. The vizier took post at a distance on their right, and the minister Beny Bahadur occupied a ruined village on the bank of the Ganges, to their left. A sharp firing of cannon and musquetry commenced, with great slaughter on both sides. The vizier harassed the enemy in flank, and the Duranny horse charging major Munro's cavalry, penetrated his line, which began to be confused from this attack and the cannonade of Maddoc and Sumroo, whom the English could not charge, owing to the morass which divided them in front. Major Munro detached a force to dislodge Beny Bahadur from the village, which being effected, occasioned some alarm in the vizier's army. At this time, Shujah Koollee Khan seeing Beny Bahadur engaged, anxious to have his share in the action, quitted his station, in the rear of the battalions, and attempted to charge through the morass in their front, by this means obliging them to desist from firing upon the enemy, lest they should injure their friends. He gained the bank, only to fall an immediate sacrifice, with most of his followers who had the valour to accompany him, to the grape shot of the English; and the survivors fled upon the death of their chief. The party which had routed Beny Bahadur, at this instant entered the camp of the vizier, which was now thrown into complete disorder. No one had time to regard his baggage, looking only for personal safety by flight; and the Mogul and Duranny cavalry, seeing all lost, deserted their patron, and began to plunder his tents. Shujah ad Dowlah, left almost alone, was obliged to follow the route of his army. All the baggage of the vizier and his chiefs, with

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a great treasure belonging to the bankers and merchants in money and goods, fell a prey to the enemy, and the treacherous deserters and camp followers above mentioned, who plundered each other afterwards. A great train of artillery and numerous tents were taken by the English. It is impossible to estimate the amount of the plunder, as the cantonments resembled rather a populous city than a camp. Great numbers of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to cross a rivulet in their flight. Meer Caufim was released by the vizier, who also had presented him with a sorry female elephant the day before the action, which enabled him to make his escape from the field to the neighbourhood of Banaras. Shujah ad Dowlah fled to Aleabad, leaving his minister Beny Bahadur to escort the emperor; but Shaw Aulum, who was disgusted with the vizier, refusing to accompany him, Beny Bahadur after a few days crossed the Ganges, being fearful of the pursuit of the English.

The emperor being now his own master, by the advice of Munneer ad Dowlah, called upon the English for their protection, who obeyed the summons, and conducted him to Banaras. They also invited Beny Bahadur to an interview, and held out offers of peace to the vizier his master, provided he would deliver Meer Caufim and Sumroo into their hands. The raja promised the former, but pleaded inability to effect the latter, as he was at the head of his battalions, who would defend him. While a negotiation was carrying on, Ali Ibrahim Khan discovering the intentions of the raja, informed Meer Caufim Khan, who found means to make his escape into the Rohilla country, with his family and few remaining friends. At Aleabad he found his women, who, after being plundered by the vizier's people, of what little they had left from the general confiscation, had been released from confinement in the fort, and left without protection at an obscure house in the city.

Shujah

Shujah ad Dowlah thinking himself unsafe longer in his own dominions, on his arrival at Aleabad dispatched confidential servants to his capitals of Lucnow and Fyezabad, to escort his women and effects at those places to Burrelli, the residence of Hafiz Rhamut, a Rohilla chief; where he also repaired with his mother and Begum from Aleabad. He refused to listen to the advice of Beny Bahadur to accept terms from the English, thinking it would degrade his character in the empire, and hoping to recover his losses by the assistance of the Afghauns and Mulhar Raow Mharatta; but in order to gain time, he sent his minister to Lucnow, instructing him to amuse the enemy with negotiations, which would keep up his authority in the province. He, notwithstanding their family hatred, visited Ahmud Khan Bungush at Ferokhabad, and entreated his assistance; who, with the other Rohilla chiefs, promised to support him, as did also Ghazi ad Dien Khan, then at that city. By their advice, he called in Mulhar Raow, who was with an army of Mharattas in the vicinity of Gualior. Mulhar, on the promise of a large sum of money, joined him; but Ahmud Khan and the Rohilla chiefs amused him only with promises, and brought no troops to his assistance.

Raja Beny Bahadur having proceeded to Lucnow, wrote to Shittabroy, who was employed by the English, that Shujah ad Dowlah would not consent to peace on the proffered conditions; that Meer Caufim had escaped from his hands, and he could not take Sumroo but by treachery, which he abhorred; therefore resolved to continue the war. The minister, agreeably to the plan formed between himself and the vizier, declared his own readiness to join the English; and Shittabroy, deceived by his declaration, recommended his being received, to general Carnac, who had now reassumed the command of the army at Banaras in the room of major Munro. The general accordingly invited

Beny Bahadur to an interview; upon which he came to the camp, and was graciously received. He remained till such time as Shujah ad Dowlah was joined by the Mharattas at Korah, when he left the English, under pretence of settling the districts of the province, and returned with his followers to the vizier, a small escort of general Carnac's sepoy, which he had requested might remain with him, being unable to prevent his flight. It is also said, that Beny Bahadur would not have taken this step, being gratified by the confidence of the English general and a promise of continuance in the management of Oude, but for the following circumstance. Being very superstitious, he enquired of a prophesying fakeer, the probable event of the war. The fakeer replied, "The English were like a hurricane, violent in progress, but soon gone." The minister, interpreting this as a prognostic of victory to the vizier, thought it safest to rejoin him. Shittabroy, who had pledged himself for the fidelity of Beny Bahadur, was alarmed for his own safety, lest general Carnac should suspect him of being privy to his treachery; but the English, having received so many proofs of his attachment, were too generous to suppose him capable of betraying their confidence, and upon his offering to go to Calcutta, and submit his fate to the council, eased his mind of all alarm, by assurances that they thought him as much deceived as themselves by the artful minister.

Before the last mentioned occurrence, the English had detached two battalions of sepoy to Lucnow, and a force to besiege the fortress of Chunar. The former under major Stibbert, were successful in their operations; but the latter failed in a night attack, and suffered some loss. This, and the preparations of Shujah ad Dowlah, caused general Carnac to raise the siege, and march towards Aleabad. The English were now joined by Nujeeb Khan with his followers from Bondelcund; and

and he, being well acquainted with the fortress, pointed out the weakest part, which was soon breached by the cannon; when the garrison, not chusing to brave a storm, surrendered, and the English marched on to Korah in pursuit of the vizier. The conquered districts were settled by Raja Shittabroy, who made stipulations with the zemindars, and levied native troops in the name of the English.

When Raow Mulhar had joined Shujah ad Dowlah, he advanced towards the English, but his army was much dispirited, and still labouring under a panic from the defeat at Buxar. The Afghauns delayed joining him under various pretences, and Ghazi ad Dien Khan, who did come, had only a few followers, incapable of service. An engagement, or rather a skirmish, took place in the neighbourhood of Korah, in which the Mharattas were quickly dispersed by the English artillery, and fled across the Jumna to their own territories. The vizier retreated to Ferokhabad, irresolute how to act, when Ahmud Khan advised him rather to throw himself on the clemency of the English, than waste the remainder of his property on troops, that would always desert him in the face of danger; observing, that from the character of the English for wisdom and justice, it was certain they would pay proper respect to his rank and dignity. After this second victory, the garrison of Chunar, despairing of relief, delivered up the fortress to the English Aumil without a siege, of their own accord.

The vizier, having considered the advice of Ahmud Khan, resolved to embrace it; and, accordingly, set out in a palanquin with a few attendants to the English camp. Major Carnac being informed of his approach, advanced with several officers and Raja Shittabroy to meet him. Upon his appearing in sight, the vizier alighted from his palanquin, and at meeting he and the

the major embraced. The major and the company then presented nuzzers, and accompanied their noble guest on foot to their tents, where a collation was provided, and every assurance given him of reconciliation and future friendship. The vizier, after taking refreshments, retired to sleep, and in the evening returned to his own tents, at some miles distance from the English camp. Being now satisfied of the sincerity of major Carnac, he sent for his followers and equipage. Frequent visits succeeded between them, and a treaty was speedily concluded to the satisfaction of both parties. The English restored the province of Oude to the vizier, on condition of his paying fifty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, half in ready money, and half by a draft on the revenues; the vizier to have credit for what had been collected in Oude by the English. The province of Aleabad was settled on the emperor, who was to reside in the capital, and have a detachment of English for his protection. Nujeef Khan had a salary of one lac of rupees settled on him from the royal tribute of Bengal. Bulwund Sing, collector of Banaras, who had deserted Shujah ad Dowlah, was reinstated in his favour and government at the request of the English. The vizier, upon the conclusion of the treaty, endeavoured to raise the sum immediately due to the English. He applied to his mother, begum, nearest relations, and dependants, to assist him; but they all, except his begum, though well able to afford him the demands made upon them, pleaded inability, offering, some half, and others a third. The begum generously sent him all her money, jewels, and plate, even to the nose-ring, and whatever cash and ornaments she could collect among her attendants, saying, that the safety of Shujah ad Dowlah was her choicest treasure. Though a woman, she acted like a man in constancy and fidelity, justifying this verse of the poet, "A virtuous and obedient wife makes a king of her husband,"

Five hundred thousand pounds.

"husband, though poor." Shujah ad Dowlah, in return for this generous behaviour, always entrusted to her the savings of his revenues. Having paid all the money he could raise, he gave jewels in pledge for the remainder; and affairs being settled with his new allies, took leave, and returned to Fyezabad, leaving deputies in his offices of vizier and *meer atushee with the emperor. The fort of Chunar was given up to him by the English, in exchange for that of Aleabad.

When providence had closed the pages of the life of Meer A.D. 1765. Jaffier, Mr. Vansittart having returned to Europe on hearing of the appointment of lord Clive to succeed him, the council placed upon the musnud of the provinces Meer Phulwaree, eldest son of Meer Jaffier by Munny Begum. The young navob assumed the title of Nudjum ad Dowlah. Nundcomar continued minister and dewan of Bengal, and Meer Cauzim Khan, brother to Meer Jaffier, nazim of Bahar, as his nephew's deputy. Deerauje Narain remained dewan under him; but, upon the arrival of lord Clive, Nundcomar, though he had been his *moonshee when in Hindoostan formerly, was displaced, and Mahummud Reza Khan appointed in his room; his lordship being convinced from a representation which the late governor had left for his examination in the hands of his brother Mr. George Vansittart, that Nundcomar was unworthy of so confidential an office. Lord Clive also demanded from a deputation of the council, the presents they had received from the navob; but they refused, observing, that when his lordship should pay to the company what sums he had received from the father, they would willingly restore what had been given them by the son. These gentlemen at the same time resigned the company's service; so that the governor could not enforce obedience to his commands.

Soon

* Commander of artillery.

† Persian secretary.

Soon after his arrival, lord Clive repaired to Aleabad to obtain the direction of the revenues of the provinces for the company, and the sunnuds were granted without delay; the emperor and vizier being subjected as much by the wisdom, as by the valour, of the English. An agreement to pay annually ^asix and twenty lacs of rupees, as the royal revenues for the three provinces, was given under the seal of the company to the emperor. This important business was settled without hesitation or argument, as easily as the purchase of an ass or any other animal, without envoys either to the king of England or the company. Lord Clive returned to Calcutta, leaving general Smith to attend the emperor, but who was in fact his ruler; for the general resided in the fortress, and his majesty in the town; and the sound of the imperial ^bnobut in the fort being disagreeable to general Smith, he forbade the band to play, nor did the servants of the emperor refuse.

Lord Clive, upon his return towards Calcutta, stopped at Patna to regulate the government of Bahar, which was conferred on Deerauje Narain, in the room of Meer Cauzim Khan, who retired to Raujemahal on a pension of one lac of rupees. As the ^cjaghires and ^daltumgahs had been free since Mahabut Jung's accession, the English with great generosity did not abolish them, but left to every person what he held; and for this, gratitude is due to God and them, for otherwise, the noble families of these provinces could not have subsisted. The English

^a Four hundred and forty thousand pounds.

^b The nobut is composed of large and small drums, shrill trumpets, and several sorts of wind instruments, horridly grating to a European ear; but, it is very possible, the general might not have known the indignity he was offering to majesty in forbidding them to play, the English being then but little acquainted with the customs of Hindoostan. A nobut was kept in every royal fortress, to play at stated hours of the day.

^c Lands, or pensions on the revenue.

^d Lands granted in perpetuity.

lish desired, that every person's jaghire or allowance should be in perpetuity to his family; thus securing it from the probable changes, in a succession of emperors, or interested officers of government. Praised be God! this rule has continued to this day, and by his mercy is likely to remain in force, from which numbers, who are content with competence, enjoy ease and security.

Lord Clive the following year advanced to Chopprah, to meet Shujah ad Dowlah, Munneer ad Dowlah, the emperor's minister, and Raja Bulwund Sing; when some additions to former treaties were concluded between them, the latter being secured in the government of Banaras on the payment of a revenue of *twenty two lacs of rupees, the vizier giving security to the English not to injure or remove him. Nudjum ad Dowlah dying of the small pox, was succeeded by his brother Syef ad Dowlah as navob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Deerauje Narain, the governor of Bahar, being convicted of mismanagement and peculation of the revenues, was displaced, and succeeded by Raja Shittabroy in conjunction with Mr. Rumbold. Mr. Sykes was appointed to act in the affairs of government at Moorshudabad with the deputy navob Mahummud Reza Khan. Lord Clive having settled the provinces to his satisfaction, returned to Europe, and was succeeded by Mr. Verelst; and general Carnac accompanying his lordship, general Smith became commander in chief of the English army.

The administration of the provinces was now settled in the manner following: Mahummud Reza Khan, the Naib navob, conducted affairs at the capital, Shittabroy at Patna, and Jessaurut Khan at Dacca, in conjunction with a member of council.

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cil

* Two hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

cil at each city, as chief, on the part of the English. Two days weekly the naib communicated to his English colleague his transactions, plans, disbursements, and receipts in every department, for his satisfaction, and the information and approval of the presidency. Two days in each week were also set apart, in which the naib and chief received appeals from the courts of justice, and confirmed or reversed their decisions by the assistance of the chief magistrates. By these means, government was properly conducted, and the English became informed of the laws, revenues, and customs of the country, agreeably to their usage recording in books every case, and the information received upon it from the native officers, for their guidance.

A. D. 1769. Mr. Rumbold returning to Europe, Mr. Alexander succeeded him as chief at Patna, and Mr. Becher was appointed resident at Moorshudabad, in the room of Mr. Sykes, who retired to England.

In the latter end of this year a famine and epidemical disorder began to rage with great violence. Of the latter died the navob Syef ad Dowlah, and several persons of rank soon after. These united calamities continued for upwards of three months, carrying off more persons than can be computed. Mubarc ad Dowlah, third son of Meer Jaffier, succeeded his brother on the musnud of the provinces, and * four and twenty lacs of rupees annually were settled for the expenses of his household, of which Ali Ibrahim Khan was appointed dewan under Muzzuffir Jung. The English chiefs lived on terms of friendship and intimacy with those of this country, anxious to obtain information of our laws and customs, for the benefit of themselves and their successors; and every native officer, fearful of being outdone in communication, was eager to gratify their curiosity

* Two hundred and forty thousand pounds.

curiosity; but they represented for their own interest, the abuses of our laws by oppressive rulers, as established customs conformable to the genius of the people.

I myself was present at a court, when a fine was laid both upon plaintiff and defendant by Raja Moorlydher. Mr. Rumbold, in whose presence this happened, and who was of a liberal mind, desirous of doing justice, being astonished at the decree, observed, that laying a fine on the person cast, might be a punishment usual in the country, but he could not see the justice of exacting it from the successful party. The raja and other officers replied, it was an offering of gratitude, and an ancient established usage of the empire. Mr. Rumbold expressed surprise and disgust. The acquisition of wealth, however, is so alluring to mankind, that it is not surprising if such insinuating arguments should work some effect on the English, whose professed object here is to raise a fortune; but none of their chiefs have as yet been guilty of any evil or disreputable action, though from their different form of government in politics, administration of justice, and the incapacity of their native servants, some people have suffered. If they would personally investigate the complaints of individuals, and their characters, the injured would be relieved from vexation. At length, the English becoming informed of several abuses of their Hindoostan deputies, began to interfere, and regulate affairs according to their own opinions.

Mr. Verelst returning to England, Mr. Cartier succeeded him in the government. Observing a deficiency of the revenues, and anxious to acquire information of the particular modes of collection and usages of the country, he divided the provinces into seven districts, at each of which an English council was appointed, to inspect and controul the zemindars and farmers.

K k k 2

Mr.

A. D. 1772.

Mr. Vansittart, who was of great wisdom and forbearance, having cleared himself of the accusations of his enemies in Europe to the satisfaction of the company, was requested to return to this country for the regulation of their affairs; but, by the decree of providence, the vessel on which he embarked was lost, without leaving a trace of her melancholy fate. Upon this, the company consulted on appointing a successor, and agreed, that after Mr. Vansittart, no one was equal to the office, but Mr. Hastings, at that time a member of the council at Madras; who was accordingly ordered to assume the government of Bengal, and Mr. Cartier, three months after his arrival at Calcutta, resigned it to him. Mahummud Reza Khan and Maharaja Shittabroy were ordered prisoners to Calcutta. I have heard, that no orders from Europe had arrived to confine the latter, but that Mr. John Graham, by his representations, occasioned him to share the disgrace of the former, whom he wished to defend. Upon Mahummud Reza Khan's departure, Munny Begum became the directress of the navob's household, and appointed her chief eunuch, Eatibar Ali Khan, deputy dewan, by whose hands, numbers were oppressed. Munny Begum, though not of a noble family, possesses a sound understanding and much resolution, and, had she a deputy of equal abilities, is fully capable of conducting affairs. Though offended at Mahummud Reza Khan, she generously tried every means in her power to relieve him from his disgrace. Her behaviour was manly in another instance; she would not join in the party of general Clavering against Mr. Hastings, though subject, by her residence, to much trouble.

Mr. Hastings, soon after his accession to the government, repaired to Moorshudabad, to regulate the affairs of the nizamat; when the allowance of the navob's household was reduced from twenty four to sixteen lacs of rupees. Mubaric ad Dowlah

lah being a minor, Munny Begum was appointed to manage his expenses. The abovementioned allowance is not for the support of the navob only, but for the families and dependants of former Nazims. As his deputy, continually changing, disburses the whole, the latter are frequently oppressed by delays of payment, and deductions under various pretences; so that many suffer such misery, as heaven avert from any of his creatures. The navob and his immediate servants attend not to their complaints, though, if this sum was properly divided, numbers might enjoy repose under the shadow of their liberality; but alas! they waste lacs in prodigality and idle expense, heedless of the sufferings of others.

Upon the governor's return to Calcutta, the committee commenced an enquiry into the conduct of Mahummud Reza Khan and Maharaja Shittabroy. As the latter had his accounts adjusted, and his conduct was free from blemish, he was fully acquitted of all guilt, after an investigation of a year and some months; when the governor and all the committee, having made many apologies, and shewn him much kindness, restored him to office, and gave him the following certificate;

“ The suspicions, which for various reasons we had entertained of the integrity of Maharaja Shittabroy, after the most minute and close enquiry, have been found ill-founded and groundless, and we have proved his conduct to be in every point honourable and loyal to government.”

The raja was also distinguished by a * khelaut on his leaving the presidency; but his acquittal could not restore his health, which had been much injured by grief and the unwholesome air of Calcutta. He was met at Bhaugulpore by all the principal inhabitants

* Honorary drefs.

inhabitants of Patna; by some, from real regard, and by others, from the influence of his authority. When he reached his home, he complained heavily to his friends of the conduct of the English, and with justice, for a more able servant than Shittabroy was never employed by them or any other state; a proper respect to his great qualities was incumbent on his patrons. Soon after his arrival, Mr. Hastings, who was on his way to meet Shujah ad Dowlah at Banaras, stopping at Patna, requested the raja to accompany him; but he was too ill to undertake the journey, and his disorder ending in a violent dysentery, he died shortly after the governor's departure. Though his opinions and those of his son were more inclined to the Mahummedan than the Hindoo religion, yet to satisfy the scruples of his relations and cast, his corpse was burned, according to their customs. Mr. Hastings, to convince the world that he had no hatred to the father, appointed his son Raja Callean Sing to his office in the province, though very young, and of a weak capacity, with the same jaghire and salary. He also settled an additional pension on the widow, mother to the young raja.

Shittabroy was by cast a Koyt, and a native of Dhely; in his youth a servant of Akka Solymaun, the favourite dependant of Sumfam ad Dowlah, son of Khan Dowraun, ameer al amra to the emperor Mahummud Shaw. Upon the death of Sumfam ad Dowlah, he obtained the office of imperial dewan at Patna, and the direction of the lands of his late master, for his successor, in the province of Bahar. Attaching himself to the English in the several revolutions, he became their chief adviser in their connections with the country powers. He was an able statesman, and understood completely the direction of finance. He possessed many good qualities, and, in my humble opinion, excelled

excelled all his contemporary chiefs in Hindoostan. Though properly a civilian, he was not destitute of the military virtues of valour and conduct. Though, from his influence with the English, he was at times the patron of the emperor, vizier, and the chief nobles of Hindoostan, he was not haughty, or vain of his power, but treated all ranks with affable respect to their birth and character, listening patiently to the requests of every person. If reasonable, and within the compass of his power to grant, he complied without hesitation; or, if otherwise, refused in such a manner, as to gain the esteem of the petitioner. He understood well the duties of private life; and was so good an œconomist as to appear in splendour without exceeding his income. His presents to his guests of high rank were becoming their dignity; and, upon seasons of festivity in his family, the public shared the bounties of his table. His modesty and temperance were remarkable, and also his forgiveness of affronts, when in his power to revenge them, often protecting those in distress, who had tried to prejudice the English chiefs against him. His bounty to his old acquaintance in his lower fortunes at Dhely, was distinguished, and his respect and liberality to persons of learned or sacred character among the Mahummedans, more extensive than those of their own nobility. The following is an instance of his humility, and freedom from pride.

A Hindoo of his acquaintance, and confidential dependant of Naggir Mul, dewan to a former emperor, coming on a pilgrimage to Gyah, a celebrated place of devotion in the province of Bahar, requested a letter recommending him to Shittabroy from his master; but the dewan declined giving it, saying, that he could not bear to address him by his present high titles; and, should he omit them, it might give offence. These words coming to the ears of Shittabroy, when the person arrived at Patna,

Patna, he treated him with the greatest attention, and at his departure committed to his charge a letter for Naggir Mul, with a present of rich goods and other things amounting to ten thousand rupees; humbly requesting, that he would now and then remember his absent servant with a line, when any of his dependants should visit Patna. Naggir Mul was covered with confusion and regret at his omission. He immediately wrote a letter of apology to the raja for his behaviour; and praising him among his friends, said, "Shittabroy has overcome me by his wisdom and politeness."

During ^a the great famine, Shittabroy sent for large quantities of grain from Banaras, which he sold out at prime cost; and he had a fleet of boats constantly employed between Banaras and Patna to bring supplies. Every day, during the scarcity, he distributed victuals and money to many thousand poor at four appointed places in the city, as did also the English and Dutch chiefs, so that a great multitude was saved from perishing, by their bounty. The same precautions were not used at Moorshudabad, and the scarcity was made matter of accusation against Mahummud Reza Khan; but God only knows the hearts of his creatures. Shittabroy introduced into his province the cultivation of many fruits from Cabul and the more northern districts, with such success, that grapes and oranges are now cheap and common in the markets of Patna.

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^a It was for supposed monopoly and extortion, that Shittabroy was ordered by the directors of the company in England to undergo a trial in Calcutta; and as it was rumoured that their servants in India were partners with him and Mahummud Reza Khan in the oppression of the people, Mr. Hastings and the council were obliged, in contradiction to their better knowledge of circumstances, to order them to the presidency, where they were tried, and justly acquitted with honour.

He had but two blemishes in his character: One, his burdening the farmer deficient in payment with more ^a mohussuls than were necessary, for his own advantage; and the other, obtaining sums frequently from the jaghiredars, by pretending that the English chiefs intended ^b inspecting their titles, but that he could prevent it by a present. For these exactions, he himself in the end suffered the oppression of ^c mohussuls from those, for whose advantage he had imposed them on his countrymen; and, through grief for his disgrace, retired to another world. His condition there God only knows; but the prophet of God has declared, that his mercy and forbearance exceed the crimes of man.

Mahummud Reza Khan, upon the enquiry into his conduct, was deserted by all his dependants, except Ali Ibrahim Khan; who, though newly entered into office, and unconcerned in the transactions of former years, yet, grateful to his patron, under-
 VOL. II. L 1 1 took

^a Bailiffs, who receive a daily allowance from the debtor, while they attend him for the liquidation of his debt. Their numbers are more or less, according to the rank and power of the debtor. Many of the zemindars and renters who hold large districts, keep up an armed force, and when they are deficient in their rents, it is necessary to have many persons stationed over them to prevent their escape or rebellion.

^b Many of the jaghiredars, or possessors of lands and pensions on the revenues, certainly hold them on forged grants, or grants given to unworthy persons. This is well known to the native officers, who, it is to be feared, make a perquisite by keeping such persons in alarm of an inspection of their titles. The English, when they obtained the collection of the revenues, left all pensioners in possession of their lands and salaries; and there is no doubt but this indulgence was much abused; but to attempt to rectify the abuse now would be tyranny, so much time having elapsed, that it would be impossible to distinguish the forged grants from the true, the bestowers and the obliged being all dead, records lost in the revolutions of government, and the present possessors, at least innocent of fraud

^c Alluding to his being under a guard during his trial.

A.D. 1774.

took his defence and in a short time made himself master of the various accounts, and cleared up his conduct to the satisfaction of the council. He was set at liberty, and the guards removed from his houses at Moorshudabad and Calcutta. He would not, however, return to the former, hoping, like Shittabroy, to be again restored to office; and therefore continued at the latter city, where the native dependants of administration flattered him for his money with favourable reports of the dispositions of their masters towards him. One day he was told a certain counsellor had expressed himself kindly; another day, that his reappointment was under consideration; and a third, that orders for it were dispatched from Europe. To these wretches he made considerable presents in hand, and promises of indulgence, when he should regain his power. By such imprudence and folly he incurred large debts.

At this crisis of his affairs, general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis arrived from Europe, as members of government, and also to investigate the conduct of the late administration, of whom only Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell were continued in office. As these three gentlemen were sent by the king and company to explore the faults of the governor and his colleagues, general Clavering being of high rank in Europe, a servant of the king, and intended to succeed to the chair, Mr. Monson to the command of the army, and Mr. Francis to rise in council, they created a wonderful awe and respect. They would not receive nuzzars, a custom peculiar to Hindoostan, nor even accept a present of fruit from any one. They invited the enemies of the governor to join them, and Nundcomar, who had been rejected by Mr. Vansittart and lord Clive, also Mr. Hastings, at this time became their confidant and most favoured dependant. Through him many self-interested and seditious persons, in hopes of acquiring power, joined themselves to the
general

general and his friends. The investigation of the governor's private transactions began, and the strongest difference of opinion in council prevailed; which not only affected the dependants of either party, but the affairs of the three provinces were thrown into confusion by the divisions of government. The general and Mr. Barwell even fought with pistols, according to the customs of their nation. The general having a majority over the governor and Mr. Barwell, affairs were conducted mostly agreeable to the opinion of his party. Mr. Goring was sent to Moorshudabad, Mr. Fowke to Banaras, and Mr. Bristow to Lucnow. Mubaric ad Dowlah and his mother, who were governed by Munny Begum, having applied to the general through Mr. Goring, they became the managers of the nizamat, and were apparently freed from her controul, but, as the Begum possessed great fortitude and wealth, she threatened the navob to make the English her heirs in case he should offend her; so that in effect she preserved her power. In fact, Mubaric ad Dowlah is incapable of publick business. No person dreads his anger, nor hopes advantage from his patronage; nor is he at all ambitious of power, only requiring the undisturbed enjoyment of his pension and pleasures.

During these disputes, were brought to light the crimes of Nundcomar. He was convicted of a forgery of the name of Bollakee Dufs, and condemned to suffer death. He was a wicked, deceitful, vain-glorious person, inimical to all mankind, even to those who had conferred obligations upon him, and if any one trivially offended him, never rested till he had effected his ruin. As his friends had assured him that no one could do him injury, and told him not to be alarmed though he might be led to the foot of the gallows; so that he might securely use every means to prove the governor's delinquency, he, from his hatred, and confidence in the
general's

• Navob's affairs.

general's promises, continued to accuse him; but Mr. Hastings refuted all his allegations. The guilt of Nundcomar being fully proved, he was hanged at the appointed place of execution. His treasure and effects were given up to his son. It is said, there were fifty two ^a lacks of rupees in money, and about the same amount in jewels and rich goods. In his house were found the seals of several eminent persons, which he had forged; so that his wicked arts became publicly known.

When it was universally believed that the general's party was the strongest, Mahummud Reza Khan, who was rash and unsteady, became desirous of acquiring his patronage. Ali Ibrahim Khan advised him to remain attached to the governor, who had protected his life, fortune, and reputation; observing, that if Mr. Hastings should prevail, he would no doubt reward his fidelity, and even if the general should succeed, as he had done him no injury, he could not but respect his fortitude and honour. Mahummud Reza Khan, anxious to be restored to office, neglected this advice, and courted the general, who gave him the deputation of Mubarc ad Dowlah, and the superintendence of the native criminal courts of justice. Khe-lauts were conferred upon himself, his sons, and dependants, when he returned to Moorshudabad, and shortly after quarrelled with Ali Ibrahim Khan, whose abilities and fidelity had rescued him from destruction.

The disputes in council continued unremitting for three years. In the latter year, the general received intelligence from Europe, that Mr. Hastings was recalled; when, without waiting for the disclosure of the packets, he assumed the government, but was opposed by Mr. Hastings; upon which the claims of both parties were referred to the opinions of the judges,

^a Five hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling.

judges, who decided in favour of Mr. Hastings. The general soon after was taken ill, and died of a dysentery, supposed to have proceeded from grief and disappointment. After his death, many of his dependants were removed from office, and succeeded by those of the governor. Mahummud Reza was succeeded by Suddur al Huk Khan, and Raja Goordas, son of Nundcomar was appointed dewan to Mubarc ad Dowlah; but the former dying soon after his promotion, the office for some time remained vacant, till at length, the governor general and Mr. Francis coalescing, Mahummud Reza Khan was at the desire A. D. 1780. of the latter restored to his employments.

F I N I S.

✍ Of the Rohilla war in 1774, a just account has already been published by the late captain Charles Hamilton, the truly learned editor of the Hedaya, a code of Mahummedan Laws. It has therefore here been but cursorily mentioned. Of the invasion of Hyder Alee, I have not seen any respectable account by a native of India, nor of the rebellion of Cheyt Sing, zemindar of Banaras, or the transactions of the British, later than the period at which I have concluded this volume; and as my design was to give only the reports of native writers on the affairs of Hindoostan, I judged it right to stop my pen, when they could not be procured.

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Francis Connelley, Mahommud Reza Khan was at the death A.D. 1782.
of the latter restored to his employment.

P I N I A

Of the Nobles was in 1775, a full account has already
been published by the late Captain Charles Hamilton, the truly
learned editor of the *Asiatic Researches*, a copy of Mahommud Khan.
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